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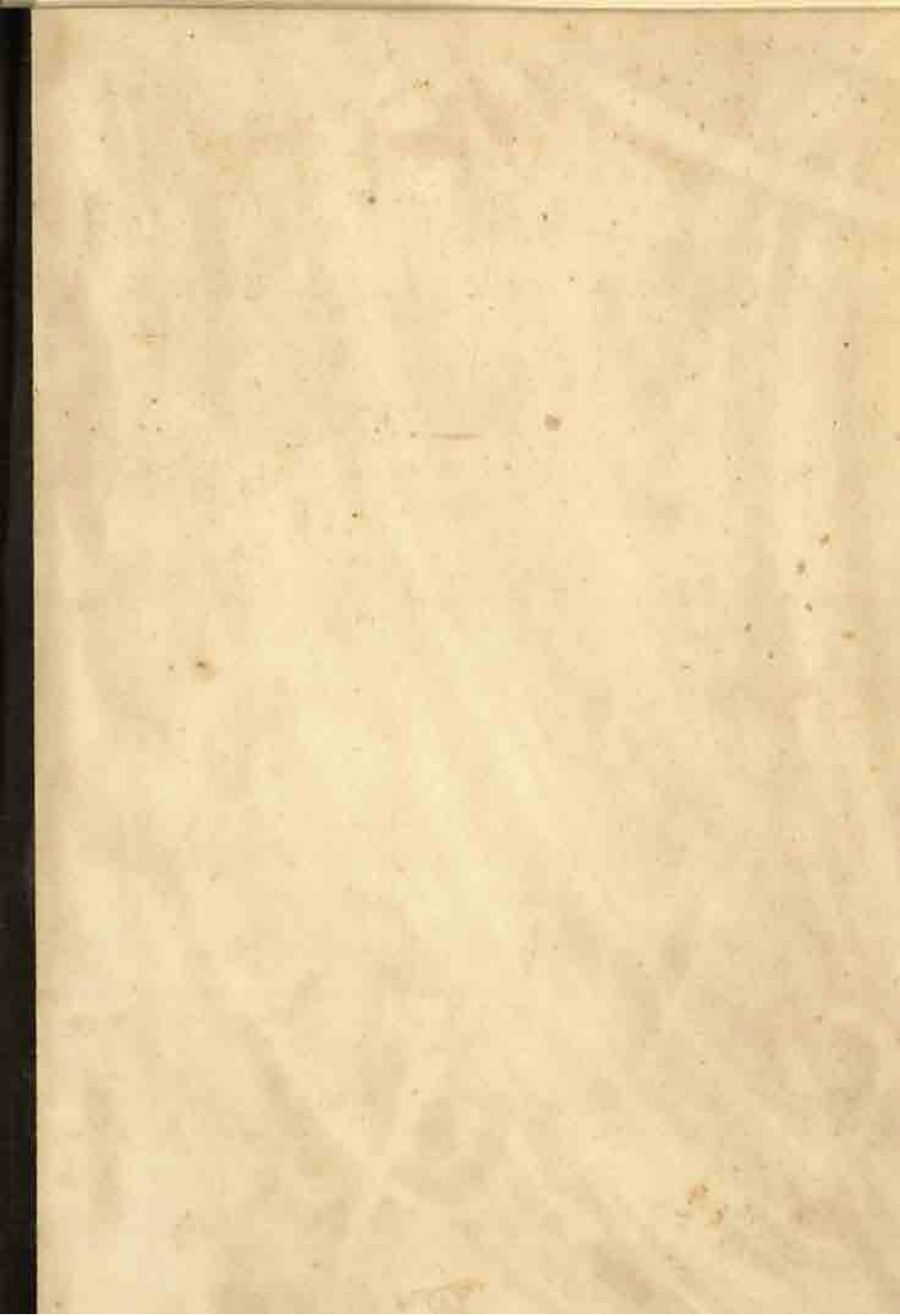
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MEETINGS

OF THE SESSION 1935-36

1 The inaugural Meeting of the Session took place on November 3th, 1935, when Prof. D. Talbot Rice spoke on the 'Leningrad Exhibition of 1935 and its bearing on later Greek Cultures.' In this communication, which was illustrated by lantern slides, Prof. Talbot Rice observed that contacts of one sort or another between Greece and Iran had long been recognised, and the exhibition of Iranian art, opened in connexion with the third International Congress and then taking place in Leningrad, served to arouse new interest in them, for no visitor to the Hermitage could come away without being amazingly impressed by the superb collections of material from South Russia, so much of which was illustrative of Greek and Iranian contacts in that area. Interest in these contacts was, moreover, further stimulated by the character of the exhibition, which was not confined to Persian art alone, as had been its predecessor in London in 1931, nor to shewing the Iranian element only in the South Russian finds, for it comprised, alongside the truly Persian material, which was in some fields without rival outside Russia, a number of galleries devoted to the vast area stretching from the Black Sea on the one side to western China on the other, most of which at one time or another had come under Iranian influence. Even further than this, it included a number of rooms occupied by the arts which had been either influenced by, or in turn had exercised an influence upon, Iran, such as the Byzantine, the Mongol or the Turkish.

To enter into the problems of relationship between Greece and Persia in the classical age was beyond the scope of the lecture; yet certain recent discoveries in Russia, more especially those known as the Koslov and the Pasirik finds, threw new light on the question, and proved that wide cultural contacts were being exercised in the first three or four centuries before Christ, and a mention, however casual and cursory, was therefore excusable. It was, however, with the Byzantine age that the lecturer was primarily concerned.

In that period, the presence of Iranian

influence in the West was proved by abundant examples. The very nature of Byzantine art was, in fact, to some extent due to Persian inspiration, though at first the Iranian influence was to be sought in the nature of the aesthetic character of the art, rather than on the surface. Later, both surface appearance and underlying idea showed the Iranian influence, and in some of the arts, more especially stone sculpture, textiles and ceramics, a surprisingly deep penetration both of Iranian motive and spirit could be discerned. One would have thought, indeed, that it could be accounted for only by the presence of actual colonies of Iranian craftsmen in the Byzantine area, had not half-way examples existed in South Russia and the Caucasus, both in sculpture and ceramics, which served as links in the chain of model and copy. In textiles, in stone sculpture and in much of the pottery, Iran seemed to have been the source of inspiration, Byzantium the copier; yet evidence of a reverse inspiration existed, and in one group of pottery, the polychrome, Byzantine examples antedate those of an Iranian group which seemed to be quite clearly allied to it.

After observations by Sir Arthur Evans and Sir George Hill, Sir Percy Sykes proposed a vote of thanks to Prof. Talbot Rice, which was carried with acclamation.

2 The Second General Meeting of the Society was held on February 4th, 1936, when Prof. T. B. L. Webster read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'Parallel Tendencies in Greek Literature and Art.' Prof. Webster pointed out that the inspiration of art by literature and *vice-versa* had often been studied by scholars, but the parallelism between the arts at any given period had not been so frequently investigated. Plato objected to *mimesis* both in painting and poetry because *mimesis* was only concerned with external appearances and not with the truth, because it was realistic and emotional. Plato was thinking of Apollodorus and his followers in painting, and of Euripides and his followers in drama. At that time artists and poets both chose romantic and emotional subjects, both were realistic in their representa-

tion, and loose in composition. The contrast between the insistence on structure in earlier and later works of art and literature was notable.

The theory and practice of *mimesis* in art and literature originated in the second half of the sixth century. Earlier poets and artists were not 'imitators' but 'makers.' Statue and vase spoke of themselves in the first person; the poem conferred immortality on its subject; the poet was given his song by the Muses. The parallelism of form between the Homeric epic and geometric vases was as striking as the later correspondence in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, and could be seen not only in the balanced symmetry of the whole but in the details of composition and structure.

After observations by the President, a vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. Earp and seconded by Prof. Ashmole.

- 3 At the third General Meeting, held on May 5th, 1936, Dr. P. Jacobsthal gave a communication on 'East-Western Relations during the Eighth to the Fourth Centuries a.c.' The paper, which was fully illustrated by slides and supplemented by a useful bibliography, will, it is understood, form part of a forthcoming work on Celtic Art.

- 4 At the Annual Meeting of the Society, held on June 30th, 1936, the President, Prof. J. L. Myres, who occupied the Chair, moved the adoption of the Annual Report. This was seconded by Sir Frederic Kenyon, who spoke of the great services of Mr. Macmillan to the Society and of the loss sustained by his death. The report was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir George Hill proposed the resolution for the election and re-election of Officers and members of Council; this was seconded by Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, who took the opportunity of expressing his own and his family's appreciation of the sympathy shown by the Council and the Society in their loss. The motion was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Society's auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, proposed by the Librarian and seconded by Mr. Purdon, was carried unanimously.

The President then delivered his annual address taking as his subject 'Hellenism in History'; he suggested that the recent pronouncement that 'the Greeks did not take time seriously,' and that there was no 'school of history' in Athens or Alexandria, challenged reconsideration of the Greek view of history and practice of history writing, and of the influence of

Hellenic views and practice on historians in later times.

The preliminary distinction had to be made, as in all departments of knowledge, between ideal aims and logical methods on the one side, and attempts, more or less successful, to apply them, on the other. Allowance had to be made, also, for the reticence of Greek authors, writing for a public of broader general culture than ours, about matters of general knowledge. It did not follow that Herodotus was indifferent to military or political considerations because he made mistakes or omissions; or Thucydides to economic, because such topics only rarely occurred in his narrative. Brief allusions to current theories, or crucial instances, were sufficient to establish a writer's general appreciation of such aspects of events.

The same consideration found full value in casual allusions to geographical factors, and to facts of natural science. Knowledge was less specialised in Hellenic culture, and enquiry into human affairs ranked with enquiries into the course of nature, as concurrent aspects of an external world, and at a later stage, with psychological and ethical enquiries into an inner world of human minds and hearts.

In a recent communication to the Hellenic Society (*JHS* LIV, p. xiii), Prof. Myres had interpreted Thucydides' protest against the 'mythical' element in historical writing as referring less to mythological or fabulous topics, than to tendentious presentations of historical facts to illustrate what contemporary critics of medical writings described as 'general hypothesis.' Such 'mythologies' (or philosophies of history) were the belief in divine 'jealousy' and retributive punishment in Herodotus, the Platonic theory of cycles in political history, and the hypothesis of overmastering 'fortune' in Polybius. It was the peculiar achievement of Thucydides, in the favourable conditions of Periclean Athens, both to have exposed such 'mythical' elements in earlier and contemporary histories, and also to have restricted himself to scientific analysis of historical events, borrowed (as Cochrane has shewn) from contemporary medicine, where alone (outside the mathematical sciences) such analysis had been accomplished in his time.

The relative success of Polybius in similar analysis of historical causes and effects was the counterpart of the fresh developments of Alexandrian science; and the revivals of interest in historical studies, at the Renaissance and in the nineteenth century, were similarly correlated with those new advances in scientific methods,

of which the philosophical formulation was due to Descartes and to Kant; with concurrent revival of critical interest in Hellenic precursors, and especially in the scientific achievement of Thucydides. Our own age, 'taking time seriously' in current philosophies, seemed also to exhibit an 'intelligent curiosity about the

past,' worthy of Hellenic precursors, and directly influenced by their experience.

The vote of thanks to the President for his address was moved by Mr. Penoyre, who then took leave of the Society on his retirement from the position of Secretary and Librarian, which he had held for more than thirty-three years.

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1935.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable.....	1615 1 8	By Cash in Hand—Bank	7 3 8
" Subscriptions paid in advance	95 10 0	Assistant Treasurer	111 5 3
" Endowment Fund	1359 12 0	Petty Cash	118 10 11
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)		" Debts Receivable	199 10 2½
" Life Compositions and Donations—		" Investments	2725 0 0
Total at Jan. 1, 1935	2293 4 0	Library Premises Capital Account—	
Received during year	42 0 0	Amount spent to date	5584 13 10
	2335 4 0	Less Donations received	4699 11 4
Less carried to Income and Expenditure			885 2 0
Account—Members deceased	31 10 0	Transferred to Income and Expenditure	
	2303 14 0	Account during past years	543 0 0
Balance from Income and Expenditure		Now transferred	342 2 0
Account	172 17 11½		23 0 0
Less Deficit at January 1, 1935	95 12 0	Valuation of Stocks of Publications	319 2 6
Surplus at December 31, 1935	77 5 11½	" Library	459 0 0
		" Photographic Department	1500 0 0
		" Paper in hand for printing Journal	200 0 0
			9 0 0
			<u>£5451 3 7½</u>

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY,
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1935, TO DECEMBER 31, 1935.

Expenditure.			
To Salaries.....	£	s.	d.
" Insurance	610	5	0
" Miscellaneous Expenses	22	3	0
" Stationery	61	10	0
" Postage	39	6	11½
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.	96	11	1½
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises, (including rewriting).....	31	10	0
" Interest other than on Library Premises ...	443	10	7½
" Grants—	1	7	6
British School at Athens	75	0	0
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	5	5	0
Balance from Library Account	80	5	0
Balance from " Journal of Hellenic Studies " Account	151	4	10
	621	4	5
Balance	172	17	11½
	£2321	14	11

Income.			
By Members' Subscriptions—	£	s.	d.
Arrears	12	12	0
1935	1332	5	0
	1244	17	0
" Members' Entrance Fees	24	3	0
" Student Associates' Subscriptions	97	13	0
" Libraries' Subscriptions—			
Arrears	4	3	0
1935	319	1	11
	323	4	11
" Life Compositions brought Into Revenue Account	31	10	0
Dividends on Investments	117	2	10
" Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies	283	0	0
" Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi'	1	0	0
" Sale of 'Ante Oculos'	9	0	0
" Sale of 'Artemis Orthia'	8	10	0
" Miscellaneous Receipts	15	1	4
" Donations towards current expenses	31	12	0
" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account	39	2	6
" Balance from Library Premises Account	104	3	0
	£2321	14	11

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded a Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules:—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.
 2. Any such persons desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.
 3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.
 4. Any Essay already published, or which has already received or is in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.
 5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.
 6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.
- Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'

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The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

50, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

President: HUGH LAST, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

THE subjects to promote the study of which the Society was formed are the history, archaeology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about 700 A.D. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to the wider objects with which it is concerned, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation by devoting space in its Journal to articles on Romano-British history and archaeology.

In connexion with the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies the Society maintains a joint library of works on classical antiquity, and a collection of lantern-slides and photographs. Members are entitled to borrow books and slides, and these can be sent to them by post. Communications about books and slides should be addressed to the Librarian at 50 Bedford Square.

Afternoon meetings for the reading and discussion of papers are held at Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, and one evening meeting is arranged for the discussion of a subject useful to teachers of Roman history. Notices of these are sent to all members.

The *Journal of Roman Studies*, which is open to the contributions of both British and foreign scholars, is published by the Society in half-yearly parts, and is sent post free to all members.

The Annual Subscription for membership of the Society is one guinea. The composition fee for life membership is ten guineas for persons over fifty years of age, and fifteen guineas for others. Student Associates are admitted at the reduced subscription of 10s. 6d.

Persons desirous of joining the Society are asked to communicate with the Secretary at the Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The Classical Association.

The objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.), and there is an entrance fee of 5s., from which members of Local Branches, Libraries and Corporate Bodies are exempt. Members receive a copy of the annual *Proceedings* of the Association and, on a payment of 2/6, of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (both post free.) They may also obtain the *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly* at reduced prices, though the reduction cannot be guaranteed unless the subscription is paid before January 31st in each year. *Greece and Rome* may be obtained for an annual subscription of 7s. 6d.

Applications for membership should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer of the Association (Miss Gedge, Westfield College [University of London], Hampstead, N.W. 3). Inquiries should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary of the Association (Prof. T. B. L. Webster, The University, Manchester), or to the Hon. Secretary of any one of the Local Branches, viz., Aberystwyth, Bedford and Northampton, Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, East Anglia, Hull, Kent, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Northumberland and Durham, North Wales, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Sheffield, Southampton, South Western, Sussex, Swansea, Taunton and West Somerset.

THE SEMANTICS OF GREEK NAMES FOR PLANTS¹

THE names given to plants in ancient and modern Greek are not only of interest in themselves but have some bearing upon a general point in the history of the meaning of words. Many of the names of plants in ancient authors can only be interpreted with a certain vagueness: of *νάρκισσος* we can only say that it is some sort of daffodil; *κρίνον* is pretty certain to be a lily of some kind; we can hardly go further. In these straits it is natural enough to enquire into the meaning of these words in Modern Greek, and here we certainly find no lack of information, but unless we scrutinise this modern evidence with some care we are apt, I think, to let it lead us too far, or even in some wrong direction. How this modern evidence ought, in my opinion, to be used is the subject of this present paper.

There can be no doubt that many plants have preserved the same name all through the centuries; these are well-marked plants, known and valued for certain definite qualities. I take a few examples. *ἄμπελος*, modern *ἀμπέλι*, has always been the vine; *δάφνη*, the bay-tree; *συκά*, the fig-tree; *ἐλαία*, the olive; *πρίνος* has always meant at least some kind of evergreen oak; *πλάτανος* has always been the oriental plane; *μύρτος*, the myrtle, though in modern Greek *ἀγριομυρτιά* has wandered off to the name of some myrtle-like shrubs, *rhamnus* (buckthorn) and *ligustrum* (privet). I may note here that in Modern Greek *ἀγριος* in composition not only means *wild*, but is used to describe a wild plant that bears any kind of resemblance to some plant of cultivation. We have the same thing in English: *Tussilago farfara* is, from its big leaves, sometimes called *wild rhubarb*. And these old identities are found in many less well known plants. The truffle in ancient Greek *ὕδνον*, is still *ὕδνο*, *ὕδανο* or *ὕδανιά*, and at Calimera in South Italy *ta idina*, though often called *χοιρόψωμα*, *pig-bread*; *μιμσίκυλον*, the fruit of the arbutus, survives in the Italian of the south as *armékulu*, and there are many other certain cases; many more that are likely.

Sometimes the modern name is very good evidence for the otherwise doubtful meaning of an ancient name. Theophrastos couples *ζυγία* and *σφένδαμνος* as trees the wood of which is used for making bedsteads and the yokes of beasts of burden. The meaning of *ζυγία* has been thought doubtful, but Sir Arthur Hort takes it to mean maple, *Acer campestre*,² and Theo-

¹ In a shorter form this paper was read in 1904 before the Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques in London. I am now glad to acknowledge several valuable suggestions made to me by Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton. The chief books I have used have been the Loeb edition of Theophrastos on Plants edited, and well indexed, by Sir Arthur Hort; *Τὰ δημόσια ὀνόματα τῶν φυτῶν* by Heldreich (Χάλδραχ) and *Ἐπὶ Μηλιόραχης*,

and *Λεξιλόγιον φυτολογικόν Τραπεζούντος* by E. Κούσης, published in *Ἀρχαίου Πόντου*, I. pp. 98-120. All my references to the Greek dialects of South Italy and to the Greek words in the Italian dialects of that region are drawn from Gerhard Rohlfs' *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Dialekte*.

² Dr. Buxton tells me that this species of maple is hardly large enough to be used for yokes, and therefore thinks some other species more likely.

phrastos says that it is a mountain form of σφένδαμνος, which is certainly some sort of maple. In Greece the word seems to be lost, but at Bova *dziya* means *maple*, and is used at the present day for making yokes. The word is a derivative of ζυγόν. But we must not forget that if there were no other indication that ζυγία meant *maple*, the evidence from Bova would only justify us in concluding that the Greeks have called any wood from which yokes were made ζυγία. Ivy has always been κισσός. Ἐρέβινθος *Cicer arietinum*, the chickpea, is still ρεβίθι, or ροβίθι, though the name is applied also to the vetch, *Vicia ervilia*.

But difficulties soon arise. The κάκτος of Theokritos is not the plant now so called, for all *cacti*, including the now so common *Opuntia*, the prickly pear, are indigenous only in the western hemisphere. Indeed the name has not survived for any native Greek plant; there is no doubt that Liddell and Scott are right in explaining the word in Theokritos as a cardoon, a sort of thistle. Ἰξός still means *mistletoe*, but it is applied also, according to Heldreich, to *Cordia myxa*, a plant of the borage tribe. In other words, modern usage is not always a safe guide to ancient meaning. That *Cordia myxa* should have a popular Greek name at all seems very odd, because the plant, to judge from the labels of the specimens in the Oxford herbarium, seems not to be found in Greece, but to be a native of India. In appearance it is not in the least like mistletoe. The link may be taken to be that the slimy (μυζώδης) quality of mistletoe is found also in *Cordia myxa*.

There is a further complication. In the modern language the same name is often used for different plants, and the same plant sometimes has different names in different parts of the country. Nor can we doubt that this was so in ancient Greece: the ancient name σίδη is used for a pomegranate and also for a water-plant of some kind.⁸ Though I hope presently to suggest a clue for this maze, on this particular example I can shed no light whatever.

In Modern Greek we are naturally on much safer ground, and I hope that some examples will throw light on these semantic puzzles. I begin with the word σφάκος. This meant in Ancient Greek *sage*, some sort of *salvia*. But in Modern Greek, except in the Terra D'Otranto where *spáka* does mean *salvia*, σφάκα, the nearest form to σφάκος, means not *salvia* at all but the rather sage-like but inedible bush *Phlomis fruticosa*, commonly called the Jerusalem sage. *Salvia*, the herb sage, is generally called σφακομηλιά or φασκομηλιά, the *sage apple-tree*, from the edible galls it is apt to produce. So the word σφάκα has passed from sage to a rather sage-like plant. Further σφάκα does not everywhere mean the Jerusalem sage. This plant is in Crete generally called ἀγγάραθος and sometimes φλωμιά, because its greyness makes it like φλόμος, which is *spurge*, and σφάκα in Crete means *oleander*: *oleander* which is generally called πικροδάφνη, the *bitter bay*, owing to the bitterness of the leaves. It is so bitter that it is, the Cretans say, the only plant that the goat cannot eat, although he has a try at it every year. That both the Jerusalem sage and the oleander are

⁸ See Liddell and Scott; Σίδη is quoted by Du Cange, meaning προτόνεα ἀπὸ τῆς βολῆς.

bushes seems to be the only link between the two plants. Πικροδάφνη came more easily, because the common ancient name was ροδοδάφνη, the *rosebay*, from its pink flowers, and this name has survived in dialect: Heldreich cites ροδάφνη, ἀροάφνη, ἀροάχνη, and even in Andros δοράφι. The ancient name νήριον is lost. What the modern word used in Mani, σέμα or σέμη, is I do not know at all. The word used at Corfu is λένδρος, and a friend points out to me that this must be from the English *oleander*, and the use of the word in Corfu a relic of the British occupation of the Ionian islands. Another better-known inheritance is that the boys at Corfu still play a game easily recognisable as cricket: I do not know what they call it. We may learn something more from the names for *oleander*. There was in ancient Greek a kind of βύβλος recognised as useful for making garlands, and therefore called στεφανωτρίς. Rohlf's quotes some Latin glosses: *radagne*, which means *oleander*, *id est biblace*, and in *biblace* he sees βυβλάκιον, a diminutive of βύβλος, in the sense of a garland plant. Now at Bova and in the neighbouring villages the *oleander* has such names as *glimbáci*, *plombáci*, and so on, and in these Rohlf's sees corruptions of this same diminutive of βύβλος. These Bova forms may be taken as indicating that the second sense of βύβλος, when it was called στεφανωτρίς, was *oleander*, the link between it and papyrus being that both are plants growing in wet places.

Such links of meaning, like the use of σφάκος, σφάκα for different though in some respects similar plants, suggest a clue out of what might seem at first a maze of confusions. It is a clue the results of which may be thought disappointing, and may lead to our giving up some too facile certainties of exact identification, but it will, I hope, shew us on what lines truth is to be sought, and that such changes of meaning as we may find are not entirely at random or meaningless.

The words for *arbutus* will serve as a beginning; no distinction can be made between the two species, the commoner *Arbutus unedo* and the less familiar *A. andrachne*. Both are common in Greece and are so much alike in habit, flower and fruit as not to be as a rule distinguished. Anciently this bush was called κόμαρος, and to-day it has the same name, although generally in the diminutive form, κομάρι. But the Greeks who until recently lived in Pontos used the word κομάρι not for *arbutus* at all but for the small rhododendron which grows everywhere in the copses and is much more common in Pontos than the *arbutus*. *Arbutus*, where they had it, they called by its other name, ἀντράχνα. Again the ancient σφένδαμος and its modern equivalents, σφένταμος, σφεντάμι, mean the *maple*, but in Pontos this tree is not known, and the name has been transferred to another tree: the plane is not called as elsewhere both in ancient and modern Greece πλάτανος, but is in Pontos called σπεντάμι, the dialect form of σφένδαμος. The link between *arbutus* and rhododendron is that both are bushes growing in copsey places; the *maple* and the *plane* are both trees. At the clue which is now appearing I have already hinted: the name shifts from one plant to another of something the same kind, or, as we shall see in my next examples, to another possessing similar qualities.

The ancient ἐλλέβορος means our hellebore, regardless apparently of

species: it also means *veratrum album*. In the modern language hellebore, and of more than one species, is called σκάρφι, and the word ἐλλέβορος has not survived in the popular language, except in Pontos, where its derivative λεβόρ' is applied neither to *veratrum* nor to any form of hellebore, but to the dwarf elder, *sambucus ebulus*, generally called nowadays βουζιά. Here the link is that both plants have a strong and not very agreeable smell; both are low growing and of rather shrub-like habit.⁴

With quality goes use. The word βάϊον, the common modern word for palm, is used in Greece not only for palm, but also for sprays of myrtle, bay, or olive or any plant used for distribution in church on Palm Sunday: exactly as in this country willow catkins are commonly called 'palm.' But in Pontos βάϊον is used, Kousis says, not for palm at all, but for some green trailing plant which, he says, is very like the plant known as πρασινάκι or τηλέγραφον, and it has this name because it is used in the Palm Sunday ritual. But what the plant πρασινάκι, 'greenery' or τηλέγραφον is, I cannot ascertain.⁵

Let us now turn from Pontos to the opposite end of the Modern Greek world, to the Greek-speaking village of Bova in Calabria. Here we find the word *kammári* which means the big tree spurge, *Euphorbia dendroides*, and Rohlf's is no doubt right in seeing in it a diminutive of the ancient κάμμορον, or κάμμαρος. Κάμμαρος was the name of aconite used, as it still may be in minute doses, as a cooling medicine, and κάμμορον was the name used by the Greeks of Magna Graecia for κώνειον, hemlock. All three are violently poisonous plants, the juice of the spurge being used now by Greek and other fishermen to poison water and to bring fish dead to the surface. The conclusion to be drawn is that κάμμορον or κάμμαρος has always meant some sort of poisonous plant: in antiquity hemlock or aconite; in modern Italian Greek the tree-spurge, and possibly both then and now other plants of the same quality.

Let us return to φλόμος, spurge, with its poisonous milky juice used by fishermen. In ancient Greek φλόμος meant *verbascum*, our mullein, and it is still used for this plant. The semantic link is that a kind of mullein, *Verbascum banaticum*, is used, just as spurge is, for poisoning the water to bring the fish dazed to the surface.⁶ This use of the juice has carried the name φλόμος from mullein to spurge, and still further to another quite different genus of plants. *Aristolochia microstoma* is called, says Heldreich, φλεμονόχορτο, and *A. rotunda* λεμονόχορτο. Pliny records that the fishermen of Campania used aristolochia root for catching fish, and from this Stephanidis deduces that φλεμονόχορτο stands for φλομόχορτο, with, it seems to me, the influence by popular etymology of φλεμόνι, lung.⁷ He is inclined to correct λεμονόχορτο to φλεμονόχορτο, but the loss of φ by dissimilation before the other labial μ is quite in order in Modern Greek phonetics. The spheroidal seed-vessel, however, suggests a possible influence from λεμόνι. The word φλόμος has thus been carried by its poisonous character from mullein to spurge, and, less commonly, to the Aristolochias.

* For these words see Κούσης, pp. 108, 117, 110.

* *Ibid.* p. 101.

* Here I am indebted to Sir Arthur Hill.

* Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον, V. 67.

A sixth-century A.D. word for spurge is γαλακτίς, *the milk plant*, a name derived, of course, from the abundant milky juice of all the spurges. But connected with milk are also any plants with milky juice, and if this juice is also bitter there is all the more reason for giving them a name used already for spurge. Another set of plants is connected with milk, those whose juice may be used like rennet for curdling milk. These are the links between several modern uses of γαλακτίς and its derivatives. Heldreich reports that many kinds of spurge are called γαλατσίδα, but so too is a composite flower *Picridium picrioides*, which from its bitter milky juice I have heard called in Crete ἀγριομάρουλο, *wild lettuce*. So too at Bova *galattsida* means a kind of dandelion with a bitter milky juice. But also at Bova Pellegrini says that *galattsida* is a kind of galium, *G. verum*, used to curdle milk: *che si mette in latte per rappigliarlo*.⁸

Such a link, the ambiguity of a name, is probably not common. A case is found in the modern form χαμολιά, which springs from two ancient forms, χαμαιλέον and χαμελαία. Χαμαιλέον was in ancient Greek a plant of which Dioscorides recognises two varieties: both plants of the thistle kind. So, too, Theophrastus finds the white and the black χαμαιλέον: the former being, so Sir Arthur Hort holds, *Atractylis* (or *Carlina*) *gummifera* and the latter *Cardopatum corymbosum*. The ancient form χαμαιλέον has given us in Modern Greek χαμολιά, which is used for several plants of the thistle kind: *Cardopatum corymbosum*, *Echinops viscosus*, and *Atractylis gummifera*. The sticky gum yielded by this last plant has helped the change from χαμαιλέον to a form of the word influenced by ἐλαία, *an olive tree*, and conveys the idea of 'ground olive,' a low-growing plant producing something which may be held to have some resemblance to oil. But the name χαμολιά is also now used for the dwarf shrub *Daphne oleoides*, and χαμελαία in Dioscorides and Pliny has the same meaning: not that this produces anything like oil, but because its leaves and general growth are those of a miniature olive-tree. As far, therefore, as the identification of the ancient χαμαιλέον is concerned, the use of χαμολιά for the shrubby *Daphne* would be simply misleading. Here the oiliness or gumminess of one and the habit of growth of the other have caused two distinct ancient names, χαμαιλέον and χαμελαία, to coalesce.

If we are to ask what should be regarded as prominent features of plants, the answer must be use; scent, but hardly colour; and also general appearance. What we regard as beauty we may perhaps almost entirely exclude. Of this quality in plants the modern peasant and perhaps the ancient Greek had no very clear idea. Any brightly coloured flower nowadays of no obvious utility is just a λουλούδι, or perhaps a κρίνον, *a lily*; words of no clear definition at all. We do not know the Minoan language, but we may guess from their art that their views on the subject were very different.

An example of this indifference is provided by the use of βούτομος, of which Liddell and Scott say, 'a water-plant, perhaps *butomus*, the flowering rush.' But Sir Arthur Hort says that it is a sedge, *Carex riparia*: both are

⁸ Rohlf, p. 48.

of course rush-like plants. The modern evidence is that βούτομος and similar forms are used for *Scirpus lacustris* and the grass *Imperata cylindrica*; in South Italy the word often means a reed or rush of some sort. But also in Calabrian Greek and in the Italian of the same region *vútumo* sometimes means the real flowering rush, *Butomus umbellatus*, a water-plant with rush-like leaves and bearing on long stalks an umbel of dull pink flowers. The varying use of βούτομος in Modern Greek makes it likely to my mind that the Greeks have at no time noticed the beautiful flower, but simply lumped together most plants of a rushy or sedge-like appearance as 'cropped by oxen.' The fact that *Butomus umbellatus* grows only in water too deep for oxen to walk about in makes it hardly possible that as long as the word βούτομος retained its literal etymological meaning it can ever have been applied to the flowering rush. Why botanists used the name for this plant I do not know, but the Greeks can only have done so when like the modern Calabrians they had forgotten that the word meant 'cropped by oxen.'

We must, in fact, never press our identifications too far. Theophrastus mentions σκόλυμος, and Sir Arthur Hort takes it to be the Golden Thistle, *Scolymus hispanicus*; no doubt rightly. The word is still in use; for Italian Greek Rohlf's confines himself to saying that *skulimbri* and similar forms mean an edible kind of thistle; Heldreich reports that the word σκολύμπρι, with other forms such as σκόλυμβρος, σκόλιαμπρος, σκόλιανδρος, άγριοσκολύμπρι, is applied not only to the *Scolymus*, but to other thistles and thistle-like plants: to *Carduus pycnocephalus* and *Echinops viscosus*. That Sir Arthur is right I have no doubt, but the modern use suggests that the name may always have been applied to any thistle or cardoon of which the broad receptacle below the flowerets was edible.

Here we are approaching usefulness, and with such plants as the vine, olive, fig and so on, the lines are clear and sharp. So too for scent: rosemary, basil, rose, all are very clear entities. But apart from plants having these qualities of use nothing very definite in the way of nomenclature is to be expected, and we must certainly exclude anything in the way of botanical character. Of Linnaeus and still more of the modern natural system of classification we must completely clear our minds. We must think of something much more like the attitude of Ruskin, when he got cross with the Linnaean system and set out to write *PrasERPina*, a botany book all of his own, in which plants are classed by their general appearance and use; great stress, too, is laid upon their cultural and literary associations. Thus the new order of *Delphides* is made up of *Laurus granata*, which is pomegranate, and *Myrtus*: the butterwort, *Pinguicula*, is 'a main link between Violets and Droseras' (Sundews); here Ruskin is guided by the general habit of the three plants, which are, it is needless to say, in real fact widely separated. Ruskin composed a wilful if sometimes beautiful fantasy. The ancient Greek attitude, as I see it, is really more akin to that of those numerous people in this country, who are apt to call any yellow cup-like flower a buttercup, and to cover in this way several species of *ranunculus*, *bulbosus*, *acris*, *repens*, and some others, even *R. ficularis*, the Lesser Celandine, while some people will stray as far away as the marsh marigold, *Caltha palustris*. Here the link is hardly more than the bright

yellow colour, and the fact that they all flower in the spring. The indications are that the ancients used names in much the same way, and that from this proceeds a good deal of the vagueness of our evidence: vague, that is, when we try to extract from it any definite limit to one or another species.

Before going back to the ancient world, I will take a couple of modern instances of the transference of a name. *Violetta*, the Italian for a violet, has been taken over by the Greeks, but not often for the violet, for which they use the Turkish word *μενεξές*. They use *βιολέττα* for the sweet-scented stock, *Matthiola*: the link here is the strong, sweet scent and a certain similarity in colour. Again: for its scent the jasmine is everywhere in the Mediterranean a favourite, but I have had a passion flower offered to me and called *γιασεμί*, *jasmine*. Why? Both plants are creepers and of both the flower has a very sweet scent.

Special qualities merge into general resemblance. Here we may mention the *ἀσπάλθος*, which Theophrastos gives in a list of plants used for making odours. Sir Arthur Hort takes this to be *Calycotome villosa*, a spiny plant of the order of Papilionaceae. It is rather like a broom or cytisus, and forms of the word *ἀσπάλθος* are still used in Greece for this same plant: *ἀσπαλαθιά* in Crete; *ἀσφαλακτός* in Zakynthos; *σπαλάχτρι* in Doris; and so on. Liddell and Scott consider that the Theophrastian plant is *Alhagi maurorum*, which yields a fragrant oil, and that in other authors the reference in some passages is to the prickly broom, *Genista acanthoclada*, and in others to *Calycotome*: all three are bushy plants of the order of Papilionaceae. *Alhagi maurorum*, I may note, appears to be an Egyptian plant and not found in Greece at all. At Bova *ἀσπάλθος* has come to be used for another similar and equally spiny plant, the *Cytisus spinosus*, the form in use being *spolasso*, with *spolassunia*, a brake of such bushes. The thorniness of *Calycotome* is shewn by another of its modern names, *ξύλαγκαθο*. We may conclude that *ἀσπάλθος* is a name which the Greeks have always felt both in antiquity and at the present day to be applicable to any plant that is thorny, fragrant and of bushy habit, and probably by preference of the broom or cytisus kind. If we may trust Heldreich, in Crete the name *ἀσπάλθος* has strayed beyond the Papilionaceae to *Lycium europaeum*, a shrub of the order of Solanaceae with a very spiky habit of growth, and so often called *ράμνος* (*buckthorn*). So too the name *ἀσπάλθος* is used also, though not commonly, for two actual species of *rhamnus*.

We now see that the modern use of a plant-name cannot be expected to tell us more than that the ancient plant of the same name had some conspicuous quality in common with its modern namesake. This observance of one quality, generally of use, or of the habit of growth, has yet another consequence. A few names from general become particular. The old name for an oak tree, *δρῦς*, is preserved, and still used for the oak tree; but perhaps more often the oak is simply called *τό δέντρον*, *the tree*. This is much as we call *wheat* by the general name of *corn*, and in America the same general word *corn* is used for *maize*, what we call *Indian corn*. So, too, in modern Greece *ὄρνιθα*, the ancient *ὄρνις*, the general name for a

bird, wherever it is used at all, means not a *bird in general* but the *domestic fowl*, and it alone. But in most places πουλι is a bird, and a fowl is κόττα.

Of the principle I have tried to work out we could find many more examples. The results are sometimes rather negative than positive, but at least we see how far we may go in safety. I begin with some cases from which general conclusions only can be drawn.

Our black bryony, *Tamus communis*, is still called by the Greeks ἀβρωνίς, or some such form. But the same name in the form βρυωνίς is given to another climbing, berry-bearing plant, the *Smilax aspera*: they have these two qualities in common. Which of the two the ancients called βρυώνη, βρυωνία or βρυωνίς, we cannot from the modern evidence decide: perhaps one or the other; perhaps both; perhaps yet a third creeper; perhaps both and others as well. But certainly the ancient plant was a creeper. Our modern evidence is apt to go thus far: it can tell us, not the species or even the genus, but of what general kind a plant was.

Another example of the same sort is the ancient περδικιον of Galen and Theophrastos. 'Partridge-wort,' περδικάκι, περδικούλι, etc., is the modern name given to two species of pellitory, *Parietaria officinalis* and *P. Judaica*, and it appears at Bova as *perducia*; consequently Liddell and Scott say that the ancient meaning is *pellitory*. But Sir Arthur Hort says that περδικιον is *Polygonum maritimum*. This plant is now called, because of its silvery bracts, *silver-weed*, ἀσημόχορτο, and therefore, if Sir Arthur is right and unless, unknown to Heldreich, the polygonum is to-day also called *partridge-wort*, the name has shifted: both the plants are prostrate in habit, one on the shore and one on walls, and this is, I conclude, the reason of the change. But who can say that both then and now other small prostrate plants may not have had the same name?

In modern Greece I have already remarked that the same name is often used for different plants, with the condition that between them some link is to be found. Here is an example: δένδρολιβανός is said to have meant *rosemary*, and this is its common meaning to-day. But for the Bova forms *lendronivano* and *dendronivolo* Rohlf's can only say that they mean some sort of evergreen bush, and if this were the well-known rosemary he would probably have been able to be more precise, whilst in Kephallonia δέντρολιβανός is the name of *Inula graveolens*, the yellow bushy inula which flowers in the autumn and has a strong musky scent. And these other meanings of the word may be quite early.

Sometimes the degree of probability that the ancient plant is the same as the modern one is not very easy to estimate. In Alexander of Tralles who practised in the sixth century A.D., we find the name ἐλμινθοβότανον, and in the Byzantine Ὀρνεοσόφιον the similar form ἐλμινγοβότανον: both mean a plant which cures intestinal worms.⁹ The word ἔλμινθ is not preserved in the modern language, but a recent traveller mentions as a vermifuge a plant, of which he gives no description, called *lemithóchorton*,¹⁰ and Heldreich writes that bunches of seaweed (ἀβροίσματα

⁹ Alexander of Tralles, Puschmann's edition, II, 595, and Du Cange, *Glossarium*.

¹⁰ *Voyage de Dina et Nicolo Stephanopoli en Grèce*, Paris, an viii: Vol. I, 1; II, 226 ff.

φυκῶν) are used for this purpose, the name being sometimes λεβιθοχορτο, and sometimes a series of forms in which μερμήγκι, *an ant*, is to be recognised: μερμιγγοβότανο, ὀρμιγγοβότανο, ρεβιγγοβότανο, and others. Alexander of Tralles mentions a great number of plants used as vermifuges, and among them θαλασσία ἀψινθία, which has been identified with *Absinthium maritimum*, but he says nothing explicitly of any seaweed.¹¹ As, however, he gives no indication of the character of his ἐλμινθοβότανον, this might very well be the seaweed in use nowadays. I think myself that it probably is, but we can strictly be certain of nothing beyond that Greeks have since the sixth century given the very obvious name ἐλμινθοβότανον to one or perhaps more vermifuge plants.

Names derived from qualities may well establish or confirm identifications made on other grounds. The common teasel, *Dipsacus fullonum*, is in ancient Greek δίψακος, *the thirsty plant*, because its opposite leaves are connate and so make a receptacle round the stalk in which water from rain or dew collects. The moderns have made the same observation and call the teasel, νεροκράτι, *the water-holder*. Another modern name is σκουλαρᾶς, in which Stephanidis recognises σκουλίκι (σκώληξ), *worm*, so that the name means *the wormy plant*.¹² The ancients observed these worms, and Dioscorides says that when the flower-head is split open worms are found inside it. If there were any doubt as to the identification of δίψακος as the teasel, these two modern names and the observation of Dioscorides would be very good evidence; it is hardly likely that there is any other plant with these same two qualities.

An identification of the ancient χαμαίρωψ which seems to me fairly secure comes from Bova. The plant germander, *Teucrium chamaedrys*, is a herb; it was called χαμαίδρυς, *ground oak*, because, as Theophrastus says, it has leaves like an oak. There is another plant-name, χαμαίρωψ or χαμαίδρωψ, mentioned in Pliny,¹³ and Liddell and Scott suggest that this is the same as χαμαίδρυς. In the Greek of Bova we find the word χαμόρβο or χαμόρβυ, and it means a young oak sapling; compare our use of ground-ash. When we find that Pliny writes of *chamaedryos lignum*, we may well ask if χαμαίδρυς was always the herb germander, and had not sometimes, and with it χαμαίρωψ, the meaning now belonging to the Bova descendant of χαμαίρωψ, χαμόρβυ.

The next example I shall take shews that the evidence of modern use may lead us to be critical of earlier information. In the lexicographer Suidas we find the plant σκινδαφος described as ἀφανα; an unknown defined by another unknown. But a scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios says that σκινδαφός (accent *sic*) is a plant like ivy. It would seem, therefore, that ἀφανα is a plant in some respect like ivy. If we turn to Modern Greek we shall find a good deal of evidence as to what sort of plant we should expect ἀφανα to be. For the name, accented ἀφάνα, is given to no less than five different plants. The first is a spiny spurge, *Euphorbia acanthothamnus*. The second is the spiny burnet, *Poterium spinosum*, which is mentioned by

¹¹ Alexander, II. 397.

¹² Λεξ. Ἀρχ. V. 66.

¹³ NH. XIV. 112.

Theophrastos as στοιβίς, and in modern Greece is generally called στοιβάδα or στοιβίδα. Its three ancient uses, to make brooms, to serve as a layer of brushwood in a flat roof, and to pack earthenware jars to prevent their breaking, may all be seen to-day; more especially is it used in Crete to make a light bung for wine-jars to keep out flies and insects. The third is a dwarf spiny broom, *Genista acanthoclada*. The fourth is the 'sea aphana,' ἀφάνα τοῦ γιалоῦ, and this is the spiny succory, *Cichorium spinosum*, of which the young shoots are eaten as a salad. Lastly the 'wild aphana,' ἀγριαφάνα, is the *Centaurea calcitrapa*, common in waste places: this plant is also thorny and tufted, though in comparison with the others of a less close growth.¹⁴ What all these five plants have in common is a thorny tufted habit of growth. If in this paper I am on the right track, then σκίνδαφος, described as ἀφάνα, ought to be some similar plant; tufted or thorny; preferably both. It need not be any one of these five; it might well be the little tufted mullein, *Verbascum spinosum*. But what then becomes of the scholiast's note 'like ivy'? Must it be left, like much else in this matter, unexplained, or is it to be flatly rejected? There is a third possibility. Κισσός sounds very much like the ἱξός, the name of *mistletoe*, and indeed in some modern dialects both words are pronounced exactly the same, as *ksós*. Now mistletoe, though not strictly thorny, is a twiggy sort of plant and grows in a markedly tufty way, like all the plants to which the name ἀφάνα is now applied. If, therefore, we suppose that κισσός ought in this note to be ἱξός, we have Suidas saying that σκίνδαφος is ἀφάνα, that is to say is a tufted plant, and the scholiast saying that it is 'like mistletoe,' another plant of the same habit. We reach the conclusion that σκίνδαφος or σκινδαφός is some plant which grew in a tuft and was perhaps thorny. Which if any of the modern plants called ἀφάνα it was we have no means of knowing.

If it happens that the modern name is confined to one plant, and that plant is of at least the same genus as the plant usually identified with ancient descriptions, then we may safely take the modern evidence as supporting the ancient. Thus the plant ὀλόστεον described by Dioscorides and Pliny is identified as *Plantago Bellardi*; that it was at least some sort of plantain is strongly corroborated by the form now used in the Sicilian dialect, *olóstiu*, which means *Plantago albicans*. The odd name 'all-bone' Pliny says was given on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle from the softness of the plant. I suggest that it is more likely to be due to the outstanding veins, which have given it also the name πεντάνευρον. In English, too, it is sometimes called the rib-plant.

My conclusions are, therefore, partly sceptical: sceptical of too close botanical identifications, but sanguine as to the possibility of deriving from modern usage a great deal more than we have yet done as to the general nature of plants mentioned in ancient authors.

With our present evidence from the modern language we can go a good way, but I cannot doubt that much valuable material remains to be gathered by any field botanist who would travel about in Greece and make careful enquiries about the local names of plants. A good knowledge of

¹⁴ See Heldreich. Ἀγριαφάνα I find in the new Athens Dictionary of Modern Greek.

the language would be necessary, but his botany need not be much more than elementary, for specimens gathered and dried can always be identified later with the aid of the excellent herbaria in this country. All this modern evidence must, however, be read with some caution. Above all we must keep before us continually what were the ideas of the people who have through the ages used these names; what was their attitude to the plants which they saw and gathered and used for the ordinary purposes of their daily life.

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THE MEDISM OF THESSALY

It has been demonstrated by F. Herrmann¹ that the earliest issues of Larisean coinage, which are earlier than those of any other Thessalian city, are struck on the Persian standard. The Athenian tyrants of the Chersonese struck coins which conformed to the Persian as well as to the Attic system,² but the adoption of the Persian standard by an independent Greek state is, so far as can be at present ascertained, an unique phenomenon. Nevertheless, though his conclusion is remarkable, the arguments of Herrmann appear to be incontestable and are accepted by numismatists.³ The purpose of this article is to shew that this discovery corroborates rather than conflicts with the evidence of ancient literary authorities. It is hard to reconcile only with modern interpretations of this literary evidence and with reconstructions of the period, which must accordingly be somewhat modified.

I. RELATIONS WITH PERSIA BEFORE 480.

This Larisean coinage cannot have been minted merely to facilitate petty trading with the army of Mardonius, which spent the winter of 480-79 in Thessaly, and thus be regarded as parallel in some degree to the Carthaginian military issues in Sicily; for the issues which Herrmann describes are far too extensive and varied to admit of this explanation. Moreover they would have been unnecessary, since the Persian daric was an international currency acceptable throughout the Greek world. Rather are they the outcome of a deliberate policy on the part of the aristocratic government at Larisa extending over a number of years prior to the invasion of Xerxes. The reasons for associating this coinage with the Aleuadae are very strong indeed.⁴ The coins are of Larisa, where the Aleuadae were the ruling house;⁵ their types are derived from Pan-Thessalian rather than exclusively Larisean legend,⁶ and the Aleuadae almost certainly held the tageia;⁷ they are struck on the Persian standard, and the Aleuadae were, at least for a time, active partisans of Persia.

¹ *ZNum* 1924, 9-15.

² Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 85-7.

³ Seltman, *op. cit.* 86.

⁴ Glotz, *Histoire Grecque*, II. 46, here follows Herrmann.

⁵ The urbanisation of Thessaly had scarcely begun at this early date. There was as yet no struggle between the feudal aristocracy and the urban democracy, so that the barons could still control the policy of the growing towns (Pind. *Pyth.* X. 71-2).

⁶ Seltman, *op. cit.* 89.

⁷ Meyer, *Thesopampa Hellenika*, 245, and Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* I. 2, 206, believe the Aleuad Thorax to have been tagus for many years before the Persian Wars. The evidence is certainly slight (Pind. *Pyth.* X. 1-3; Hdt. VII. 6), but Pindar implies that as early as 498 the position of the Aleuadae in Thessaly

was comparable to that of the Spartan kings in Laconia. Other families seem to have been eclipsed at this time.

Herodotus (V. 63, τὸν βασιλεὺς τοῦ μεγίστου of Cineas) and Thucydides (I. 111, τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως of Echecrates, cp. Aeschin. *Socrat.*, fr. 10, Krauss, βασιλεύοντι πάντων Θεσσαλῶν of Antiochus) prefer βασιλεὺς to τῶν because the latter would not be recognised as a technical term by readers familiar with its non-technical significance in Attic tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 23; Soph. *Ant.* 1057).

It is noteworthy that a double axe is found on some of these early Larisean coins. This re-appears on Larisean and Pheraean issues of the fourth century and is thought to be a symbol of the tageia (Herrmann, *op. cit.* 3, 8, 65).

The question at once arises, at what date did the relations between Larisa and Persia commence to which this coinage owes its origin? Herrmann (p. 6) dates the issues 'approximately 500-479,' but an examination of Persian activities in the Thraco-Macedonian districts, through which contact with Thessaly would most naturally be established, may lead to a more exact dating for the commencement of these relations. The year 500 is on historical grounds most unsuitable; in the following year the Ionian Revolt broke out, and Thrace and Macedonia, tributary vassals of Persia since 513, temporarily regained their independence, so that they had later to be reconquered by Mardonius (Hdt. VII. 108). Since the Persians did not leave their European conquests under the control of a responsible satrap, it is an almost necessary assumption that their negotiations with Thessaly were initiated during one of the two Persian expeditions to the northern shores of the Aegean. The first of these was conducted by Megabazus in 513, the second by Mardonius in 492.

The former is for several reasons not a suitable occasion.

(1) It was not undertaken with the object of securing the land-route to Greece in preparation for an invasion, to which the submission of Thessaly would be a prelude.

(2) Even though the story of the murder of the Persian envoys at the Macedonian court be discredited, the reduction of Macedonia was evidently far from complete (cp. Hdt. VI. 44), and the whole expedition was not an unqualified success.

(3) The Aleuadae had not yet attained the dominant position which they later enjoyed. Antiochus of Pharsalus, who had been tagus, died about 515, and the mysterious disaster which overwhelmed the Scopadae perhaps occurred in the same year.⁸ Both these events were to the advantage of the Aleuadae, but in 513 the revival of their ascendancy throughout Thessaly cannot have been complete. In 511 Cineas was tagus (Hdt. V. 63), who can only have been a Larisean if one of the many attempts to explain the phrase *ἐνδρα Κορινθίων* be accepted.⁹ It is unlikely that the Aleuadae began their tenure of the *tageia* in this period until approximately 500.

The expedition of Mardonius in 492 is a far more probable occasion for negotiations. Whether, as Herodotus himself believed (VI. 43), Mardonius was under orders to conduct an invasion of Greece or whether, as is now generally agreed, the sole object of his campaign was the reconquest of the Thraco-Macedonian province, Darius was evidently anxious to secure the land-route to Greece. It was only owing to the difficulties of this route, which became apparent during the operations of Mardonius, that in 490 he adopted the alternative plan of transporting an army by sea across the Aegean. The wreck of the Persian fleet at Athos and the defeat at the hands of the Brygi, though exaggerated by Herodotus, were sufficiently serious to discourage Darius. On the whole, however, Mardonius was successful. The coastal districts were again tributary depen-

⁸ Swoboda, Art. 'Skopadai' in *RE*.

⁹ Stählin, Art. 'Κορίνθα' in *RE*. He believes that

Herodotus has misunderstood a somewhat rare form of patronymic.

dencies of Persia as far as the Thessalian border (Hdt. III. 96 and VII. 108, μέχρι Θεσσαλίας in each case), the submission of Macedonia, hitherto only nominal, now became a reality, and every effort would be made to extend Persian influence still further.

No direct evidence has survived of any negotiation with the Aleuadae, but it is very extraordinary that throughout his account of the Persian Wars Herodotus never mentions them by name save in close proximity to Mardonius. They are named four times, the first occasion being early in the reign of Xerxes, when their representatives were present at Susa urging the Great King to undertake the conquest of Greece (VII. 6). The whole account of the deliberations which led a somewhat hesitant Xerxes to make his final decision is freely dramatised (VII. 5-6 and 8-11, the two episodes being chronologically separated by an Egyptian expedition); the speeches which Herodotus puts into the mouths of the King and his counsellors are, of course, fictitious and only too Greek in their sentiments. Nevertheless one clearly historical fact emerges—that Mardonius, who had better experience of the approaches to Greece than any of the Persian princes, was the most earnest as well as the most influential advocate of the plan. His enthusiasm received simultaneous support from two Greek sources: some members of the Peisistratid house, who were resident at Susa, urged the King to invade their native land, and an embassy from the Aleuadae made a similar request. Herodotus believed that the arrival of these Thessalian envoys at this point was fortuitous, but it is almost incredible that they should have made the journey to Susa expecting to convince Xerxes by their unsupported invitation and should have happened to appear at this very opportune moment. They must rather have been present at the express bidding of Mardonius to further the schemes which he had already communicated to their masters and to assist him in overcoming the reluctance of Xerxes. The second mention of the Aleuadae (VII. 130) merely refers back to this embassy, adding the information that the King made the natural mistake of supposing that their political views were shared by all Thessaly. Throughout the campaign of 480 Herodotus never names them. It cannot be assumed from this silence that they did not accompany the Persian army on its southward march, for Thorax is known from Ctesias (*Pers.* fr. 29. 24; p. 50, Müller) to have been present at Thermopylae with a Thessalian contingent. Further, their name is doubtless concealed in the vague term 'the Thessalians,' who on several occasions influenced Persian treatment of other Greek states. But they were certainly more prominent during the operations of Mardonius in the following year. At the opening of the campaigning season Thorax espoused the Persian cause with more zeal than before and 'gave Mardonius access' to Greece (IX. 1).¹⁰ Later on the battlefield of Plataea the three sons of Aleuas, Thorax, Eurypylus, and Thrasydaeus, were members of the confidential staff of Mardonius (IX. 58). It is more than likely that they had peculiar associations with

¹⁰ The word *παρῆκε* is the only patent inaccuracy in the Herodotean account of the Aleuadae. It was, of course, not for Thorax to give or refuse Mardonius access to Greece.

him dating from his Macedonian campaign of 492¹¹ and perhaps involving the actual payment of a subsidy from which they minted their new coinage. This friendship was cemented in the winter of 480-79, during which the Persian headquarters was in Thessaly and presumably at Larisa.¹²

Grundy¹³ and Beloch¹⁴ both state that the Aleuadae had nothing to gain by making overtures to Persia before the invading army was at their very gates; they therefore discredit the story of the Aleuad embassy at Susa in the winter of 486-5. But this view fails to take into account the history of Thessaly during the preceding decades. In the early years of the sixth century the Thessalian κοινόν had been the strongest military power in Greece, and its dominion extended to the borders of Boeotia. Thanks to the rivalries of the baronial families, this empire had vanished; of recent years Thessaly had suffered more than one severe defeat at the hands of the Phocians.¹⁵ This war with Phocis cannot be accurately dated, but in view of the words of Herodotus—'not many years before this expedition of the Great King'—it can scarcely have been concluded before 500. Another indication of Thessalian weakness is that in 480 the three districts of the Perioecis and the other neighbouring tribes, which were dependent when the κοινόν was strong, were apparently free to medise or not as they thought fit.¹⁶ Hence the Aleuadae had everything to gain by a Persian invasion, if the Persian commanders were put under an obligation towards them. Their position in Thessaly itself, where their tenure of the tageia was precarious, would be thereby secured; and there was every reason to believe that, especially if Mardonius achieved his ambition to become ὑπάρχος of Greece (Hdt. VII. 6), they would be able to exchange the elective tageia for an hereditary kingship over Thessaly and the surrounding districts, perhaps including Phocis.¹⁷ The issue of a coinage on the Persian standard with Pan-Thessalian types was the outcome of such expectations.

There is further evidence, though it is of a somewhat unsatisfactory nature, of Persian influence in Thessaly prior to the invasion of Xerxes. A certain Thargelia, a Milesian hetaera, became the consort of Antiochus the Pharsalian and is said to have remained 'queen of Thessaly' for thirty years after his death.¹⁸ She was married fourteen times in all (Hippias, fr. 3, Jacoby) and made every effort to persuade her husbands to embrace the Persian cause (Plut. *Pericl.* 24. 2), finally entertaining Xerxes when he invaded Greece. This material is derived from those

¹¹ The story of Herodotus (VI. 48-9) that after the expedition of 492 Darius sent to demand earth and water from the Greek cities is demonstrably false (Beloch, *op. cit.* II. 2. 86) and is here omitted.

¹² The medising Thessalians (i.e. the Aleuadae) now discontinued the sacred embassy which had been sent annually to the tomb of Achilles at Troy. They thereby dissociated themselves from the Acaid house, whose heroes were said to have appeared on the Greek side at Salamis (Philostr. *Heroic.* XX. 28, cp. Radet, *REA* XXVII, 1925, 85-7).

¹³ *The Great Persian War*, 207-8.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* II. 1. 42, n. 1.

¹⁵ Hdt. VIII. 27-8; Paus. X. 1. 10 and 13. 7; Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 224b-e.

¹⁶ Hdt. VII. 132. If Diodorus (XI. 3. 2) is to be believed, most of these joined the Persians while the Greek army was still at Tempe, but Achaia not until after its withdrawal.

¹⁷ Meyer, *op. cit.* 245; Costanzi, *Saggio di storia tessalica*, 62-3.

¹⁸ *Ann. Tract. de Mulier.* 11, ap. Westermann, *Script. Rer. Mit. Graec.* 217; Suidas s.v. Θαργῆλια.

collections of anecdotes which were so popular from Alexandrine times onwards,¹⁹ and has little weight as historical evidence.²⁰ It is, however, plausible that (as suggested by Meyer, *op. cit.* 243, n. 3) Thargelia was the queen of successive tagi from Antiochus to Thorax, a period of some thirty years. The story that she spread Persian propaganda is in no way typical of gossipmongers' embellishments and may well be true. Antiochus died about 515, or earlier, and can hardly have been won over to the Persian side by her persuasion, but as wife of Thorax she may have been responsible for the opening of negotiations between the house of Aleuas and Mardonius.

II. TEMPE.

In his description of the initial preparation of the Greeks to face the invasion of 480, Herodotus omits all mention of Thessaly. Macan²¹ hesitates between two alternative explanations:—

(1) The Thessalians were represented at the Congress of Probouli which met in the autumn of 481, and it was at this meeting that the plan to defend Tempe was adopted;

(2) The Thessalians were not represented, and the Congress sent to them, as to other outlying Greek peoples, ambassadors to invite their co-operation.

The former alternative is surely ruled out by contemporary conditions in Thessaly. Thorax was tagus, and, unless we reject the account of Herodotus and believe that even the Aleuadae medised only at the last possible moment, he would certainly veto through his authoritative office a proposal to send envoys to represent the national state. The second alternative is more convincing and in fact probable, but the answer to this invitation cannot in the circumstances have been at all favourable. It seems clear that during the winter of 481-0 Thessaly was regarded as lost to the cause of Greece, that the Thessalian embassy sent to the Congress held at the Isthmus in the following spring was as unexpected as Herodotus would have us believe.²² This theory explains a very puzzling sentence: 'It was under compulsion that the Thessalians medised the first time (τὸ πρῶτον) as they clearly showed inasmuch as they disagreed with the schemes of the Aleuadae' (transl. Macan, n. *ad loc.*). This reference to a 'first medising'—the second being after the evacuation of Tempe—points to a sudden change of attitude on the part of some section of the Thessalians when the Persian was about to enter Europe. Thorax and his brothers had long ago determined what the policy of Thessaly was to be, but the proximity of a barbarian army evidently caused a revolutionary secession from the official decision of the tagus.

What section of the Thessalians was responsible for this revolt against authority? Meyer²³ and Toepffer²⁴ believe in the existence of a 'demo-

¹⁹ Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Plutarch und die griechische Biographie*, 30.

²⁰ Costanzi, *op. cit.* 81, dismisses the Thargelia stories as unhistorical.

²¹ *Herodotus, Books VII-VIII-IX*, II, 247-8.

²² VII. 172. The passage certainly gives the

impression, which Macan believes to be a false one, of a 'spontaneous and apparently unexpected application from Thessaly.'

²³ *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, 365.

²⁴ Art. 'Aleuadai' in RE.

cratic opposition' to the Aleuadae at this period. This is anachronistic. In Thessaly, as has been pointed out above, the developing towns were still dominated by the local barons; democracy was still voiceless. It must rather have been one of the other noble families which sought to frustrate the Aleuad plans. Significantly enough, the only Thessalian force sent to support the Greeks at Tempe was of cavalry, which would be furnished by the aristocracy (Hdt. VII. 173). Several considerations suggest that the Echekratidae of Pharsalus headed this movement:—

(1) After the Persian failure and the expedition of Leotychidas had caused the Aleuadae to lose their widespread influence, the *tagēia* passed to Echekrates II (Beloch, *op. cit.* I. 2. 206).

(2) Hostility between Larisa and Pharsalus is indicated by the fact that the latter stood out of the Coinage League formed by Larisa soon after the Persian Wars (Heichelheim, *ZNum* 1930, 21).

(3) A private army from Pharsalus assisted the Athenians at the siege of Eion in 476 (Dem. XXIII. 199).

(4) Though the *Perioecis* was at this time largely independent, Phthiotid Achaea always had particular relationship with Pharsalus; and the expeditionary force to Tempe landed not at Pagasae, as would have been natural, but at Halus in Achaea (Hdt. VII. 173).

Consequently it is more than likely that the application to the Congress at the Isthmus came from Pharsalus, though it represented the sentiments of a much wider area.

In the account of Herodotus the sudden dispatch of a Greek expeditionary army to Tempe takes the reader by surprise. Macan²⁵ remarks on the 'casual and almost parergic character of the story,' while De Sanctis²⁶ argues that Tempe was never occupied at all and that a tour of reconnaissance by a party of officials, including Evaenetus and Themistocles, has been magnified into a military expedition. However, if it is understood that the occupation of Tempe was not part of the original plan of defence but a hastily improvised scheme which failed through no fault of its organisers, the chief difficulties of the Herodotean account are removed. The arrival of the Thessalian embassy created a new situation, whose advantages were fully appreciated by the more enlightened members of the Congress. Themistocles had long believed that there was everything to be gained by attempting to check the Persian before he had advanced far into Greece (Plut. *Them.* 7. 1). Further, the support of the Thessalian cavalry—an arm in which every other district except Boeotia was lamentably weak—was an acquisition of sufficient value to the confederate army to warrant considerable sacrifices. As a defensive position Tempe was not inferior to Thermopylae.²⁷ The open sea off the mouth of the Peneius was an unsuitable point at which to engage the superior Persian fleet, but, as it was impracticable to land a large force on the Magnesian coast, a Greek fleet stationed in the Bay of Pagasae could frustrate an attempt to render the pass untenable. In the event of defeat

²⁵ *Op. cit.* II. 253.

²⁶ *RevFid* 1930, 339-42.
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²⁷ The question of other passes into Thessaly is treated below.

at Tempe the Greeks could withdraw by land, if the Thessalians covered their retreat. Xerxes was now at the Hellespont,²⁸ and there was no time to be lost. In order that the defile might be occupied without delay the hastily collected army of 10,000 was transported by sea to Halus.²⁹

No historian has been more puzzled than Herodotus himself by the sudden decision of the Greek commanders to abandon Tempe without striking a blow. Some eyewitness informed him that messengers arrived from Alexander of Macedon to warn the Greeks of the vast size of the Persian armament and to advise them to evacuate their position before it was too late (VII. 173). Herodotus is not inclined to believe that this was the true reason, and indeed the content of the message is incredible. Though Xerxes was now in Thrace, Alexander was no better able to estimate the Persian numbers than were the Greeks themselves (*De Sanctis, op. cit.* 340), who had already sent spies to Sardis (*Hdt.* VII. 146); and even if the Macedonian had received some secret information, his report would supply a more cogent reason for holding the defile than for evacuating it. But there is nothing very remarkable in the receipt of a message from Alexander. The informant of Herodotus apparently knew that some message arrived, which was responsible for the decision to retire, and by a very unintelligent conjecture supplied its content, which was in fact unknown to him. This is clearly shown by a fragment of Damastes (*fr.* 4, Jacoby), who wrote not very many years later than Herodotus³⁰ and was in this case more fortunate in his sources of information. One of the Socratic Epistles, addressed by Speusippus to Philip of Macedon, contains a brief account of the services of Alexander I at Tempe, including the words 'Alexander informed the Greeks of the treachery of Aleuas (*sic*) and of the Thessalians.'³¹ The testimony of Speusippus—if indeed the letter is genuine³²—would be in itself of little value, but he proceeds to indicate that his sources for this story are Herodotus and Damastes (*ibid.* 4). Since his version of the message from Alexander is not that of Herodotus, it must be derived from Damastes. Further, the passage refers to Heracleum, a Pierian border-town situated some miles north of the embouchure of Tempe and doubtless the point at which the messengers of Alexander delivered his dispatch to the outposts of the Greek army. This mention

²⁸ Herodotus (VII. 174) implies that the Greeks were actually at Tempe when Xerxes was at Abydos, but this cannot be reconciled with his earlier statement (*ibid.* 172) that the Thessalian envoys were sent to the Isthmus 'when the Persian was on the point of entering into Europe.' The latter date is correct, since the Greeks would hardly wait idle for some two months at Tempe (*De Sanctis, op. cit.* 340). The expedition was planned when Xerxes was at Abydos, but reached Tempe when he was in Thrace.

²⁹ It would be composed chiefly of Athenians and Spartans. Plutarch (*De Mal. Herod.* 864e), quoting Aristophanes of Bœotia, declares that Thebes sent 500 men, but this prejudiced authority is not above suspicion.

³⁰ He was a contemporary of Hellanicus and was writing in approximately 400 (Schwartz, *Art. 'Damastes'* (3) in *RE*).

³¹ *Epist. Socrat.* XXX. 3.

³² Bickermann and Sykutris, *SB Leipz.* LXXX. 1928, regard this letter as genuine on historical and stylistic grounds; Köhler, *Philologus*, Suppl. XX. 1928 (who numbers this letter XXVIII), believes that it was composed in the second century A.D. The question of authenticity scarcely affects the present argument, except that Speusippus no doubt had access to the work of Damastes at first hand, whereas a later writer would probably derive his material from a collection of anecdotes.

of Heracleum, which does not appear in the Herodotean narrative, proves that Damastes was using an independent and well-informed authority. It might be argued that Speusippus, who in his endeavour to flatter Philip cares little for historical accuracy, has distorted his sources; but, as far as his purpose is concerned, the content of the message from Alexander is immaterial. It seems, therefore, that he has faithfully recorded the version of Damastes, which is far more convincing than that of Herodotus.

The members of the Greek Congress must have been led to believe that the Thessalian application for assistance represented a consensus of opinion throughout the country.³³ If they had been given a detailed account of the situation, the expedition would not have been undertaken at all. They were probably aware that two other routes existed—those of Petra and Volustana—whereby a considerable army might march from Macedonia into Thessaly, but they anticipated that these passes would be secured by Thessalian levies.³⁴ When the generals found that the only response to their arrival at Tempe was the support of a small cavalry army, they must have felt uneasy, but as yet they were ignorant of the real conditions, which both the Aleuadae and their opponents would be careful to conceal. Finally, the warning from Alexander, who had every reason to be informed of the negotiations between the Aleuadae and Persia, confirmed their suspicions and led them to adopt the only course which could save them from disaster. Menaced in the rear by a powerful enemy and having at their disposal only 10,000 men to guard three widely separated passes, they could not hope to stem the Persian advance. Accordingly, after spending a very few days at Tempe, they returned to their ships and sailed back to the Isthmus. The Thessalian envoys had been guilty of misleading the Congress, but they were not wholly insincere; they doubtless hoped and expected that the arrival of a Greek army would be the signal for a general movement against the Aleuadae and a reversal of their policy. It was for this reason that they insisted that the army should be a large one (Hdt. VII. 172). But Thorax had laid his plans too well, and no such movement took place.

Rejecting the version of his informant, Herodotus expresses the personal judgement that the Greeks evacuated Tempe because they found that their position could be turned by following a path which led through the mountains on the north and past the town of Gonnus. This path is in fact precipitous and could have been guarded without difficulty. Herodotus, who knows nothing of the Petra and Volustana passes, is here under a misconception. He seems to have made a personal visit to Tempe,³⁵ and must therefore have been informed of this track by Gonnus, which would remind him of the Anopaea path at Thermopylae. At the same time he would learn that Tempe could be turned by an upper road (VII. 128, τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν) and would naturally assume that his informant had the Gonnus track in mind, whereas the latter was actually referring

³³ Macan, *op. cit.* II. 252.

³⁴ Munro, *CAH* IV. 282.

³⁵ Jacoby, Art. 'Herodotos' in *RE* Suppl. II. col. 270.

to other passes many miles distant to the west.³⁶ In consequence of this error the historian brings the army of Xerxes into Thessaly by a route which was quite impracticable for such a host. Thus his own explanation of the Greek retreat contains a germ of truth in that Tempe was not the only gate of Thessaly, but it is vitiated by a topographical error.

Another explanation, doubtless derived from Ephorus, is supplied by Diodorus (XI. 2. 5-6), but, though the Greek retreat is correctly attributed to Thessalian medism, the details are unconvincing. Opinions differ on the question whether Ephorus had independent sources at his disposal³⁷ or whether he merely rationalised the account of Herodotus, which appeared unsatisfactory to him.³⁸ A comparison with the Damastes fragment will show that Ephorus was familiar with this version. He seems to have attempted to combine it with the story told by Herodotus how some of the Persian heralds sent to demand tokens of submission from the Greek cities returned empty-handed and some received earth and water (VII. 131-2). Tempe was abandoned, says Ephorus, because the majority of the Thessalians and other peoples in the vicinity gave earth and water to the emissaries of Xerxes. Overt medism is not a very likely proceeding while a Greek expeditionary force was operating in Thessaly. But there is a graver difficulty. A little later (Diod. XI. 3. 2) Ephorus gives two lists of Greek peoples who medised, the former—Aenianians, Dolopians, Malians, Perrhaebians, and Magnesians—when Tempe was still held by the Greeks; the latter—Phthiotid Achaeans, Locrians, Thessalians, and Boeotians—only after its evacuation. If 'most of the Thessalians' gave earth and water before the abandonment of Tempe, it is hard to see why 'Thessalians' are included in the second of the two lists rather than in the first. The earlier passage explaining the Greek retreat must be unsound, a misguided attempt to reconcile conflicting accounts. The differentiation of the medising peoples into two classes is probably founded upon reliable evidence.³⁹ It may be that some of these lesser tribes had been bought by the wealth of the Aleuadae—especially the Perrhaebi, who held the key to the three passes into Thessaly. The defection of this people would in itself be a strong argument in favour of a retreat from Tempe.

To summarise my conclusions on the Tempe incident, the Aleuadae had long been resolved to medise, expecting that their influence would be sufficiently strong to incline the whole of Thessaly towards the Persian cause; but they naturally did not declare this policy openly before the arrival of Xerxes. As a result of disturbing rumours from Thessaly the Greek Congress abandoned any hopes which they may have entertained of drawing the first line of defence further north than Thermopylae. Later, however, a section of the Thessalians, headed perhaps by the

³⁶ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Μοκσβορίην (*ibid.* 173) is inaccurately applied to the Gannus track. The phrase suggests confusion with passes to the north-west of Olympus.

³⁷ Grundy, *op. cit.* 228-30.

³⁸ De Sanctis, *op. cit.* 341.

³⁹ The objections of Bisolt, *Gr. Gesch.* II. 665, n. 4, are not convincing, for he fails to account for the inclusion of Achaea in the second group.

Echecratidae of Pharsalus, broke away from the policy of the Aleuadae and sent an embassy to the Congress at the Isthmus to beg for protection. Thereupon the Greeks, believing their fears to have been unfounded and wishing to take full advantage of their good fortune, quickly collected an army, which proceeded to Tempe. Here the military support afforded by the Thessalians, who were expected to hold the two inland passes, was suspiciously meagre, and thanks to Alexander of Macedon the Greek commanders for the first time received an authentic report concerning the medism of the Aleuadae. Hence the whole project was a fiasco. The Herodotean account of the incident, though brief, is clear and convincing except on two points: the content of the message from Alexander has been incorrectly communicated to him, and owing to ignorance of the Perrhaebian hinterland he believed that the only practicable way of access from Macedonia to Thessaly lay between Olympus and the sea.

III. THE PERSIAN OCCUPATION AND AFTER.

The Thessalians now medised 'whole-heartedly and with no more hesitation' (Hdt. VII. 174), but it may be doubted whether this enthusiasm was universally sincere. A number of passages indicate apathy, even hostility:—

(1) When an Athenian ship ran aground at the mouth of the Pencius—this was after the retirement of the Greeks but before the arrival of Xerxes and his army—the crew escaped by land across Thessaly (VII. 182).

(2) After the wreck of the Persian fleet on the Magnesian coast the admirals built a barricade of wreckage, fearing that the Thessalians would attack the survivors (VII. 191).

(3) One of the two Spartans to escape the disaster at Thermopylae owed his life to the fact that he had been sent with a message to Thessaly (VII. 232). This indicates that the opponents of the Aleuadae still maintained contact with the Greek staff.

(4) The Thessalian contingent at Plataea fought half-heartedly (IX. 67. See below).

(5) After Plataea anti-Persian sentiment, sharpened by the hardship of provisioning an army of occupation for many months, came to be regarded as a serious menace by the Persian commanders. In the course of his retreat to Asia, Artabazus concealed from his Thessalian hosts the news of the catastrophe, suspecting that they might turn against him (IX. 89). This story has been dismissed as a fabrication,⁴⁰ but without adequate reason. News travelled slowly in Greece, and the word of Artabazus would outweigh any rumours which may have preceded him. If, as has been suggested by Munro,⁴¹ he and his army did not reach the battlefield of Plataea, he would outstrip the returning Thessalian contingent.

It has already been stated that the evidence for the activities of the medising section of the Thessalians during the campaign of 480 is very

⁴⁰ Macan, *ii. ad loc.*

⁴¹ *JHS* 1904, 165, and *CAH* IV. 338.

meagre indeed. Although the Thessalians proper are omitted by Herodotus from his list of those states which contributed contingents to Xerxes on his march to Thermopylae (VII. 185), Thorax was present with a body of troops (*Ctes. loc. cit.*). On several occasions the Great King consulted Thessalian, or rather Aleuad, interests in his treatment of other peoples. It was through Thessalian testimony that the Thebans captured at Thermopylae were spared (Hdt. VII. 233),⁴² and later 'the Thessalians' attempted to extort fifty talents of silver from the Phocians as the price of their intercession with Xerxes to save the country from enslavement. The refusal of this offer gave the Aleuadae opportunity for their anticipated vengeance on Phocis by guiding Persian plundering expeditions. At the same time they contrived that Doris should be spared (Hdt. VIII. 29-32).

That the army of Mardonius should winter in Thessaly was natural and indeed necessary. No other district could provision a considerable force, and Persia had now lost command of the sea. While Xerxes remained in Europe, there appears to have been a serious shortage of supplies (*Aesch. Pers.* 489-91),⁴³ but subsequently the country was well able to meet the demands of the wintering army—thanks no doubt to the efforts of the Aleuadae. Perhaps a contributory cause of Mardonius' tardiness in marching southwards in 479 may be found in his realisation that, whereas Thessaly could feed his army throughout the spring, he could not depend upon the supplies of Boeotia or Attica until the harvest was reaped.

On the battlefield of Plataea Thorax and his two brothers, as has been already seen, were in close association with Mardonius. A Thessalian contingent is mentioned among the Greeks on the Persian side, who were stationed on the right wing in opposition to the Athenians, Plataeans, and Megarians (Hdt. IX. 31). Herodotus had no data in regard to the number of these medising Greeks; his conjecture—50,000 (*ibid.* 32)—is ridiculously high, and modern estimates range from 10,000 to 25,000.⁴⁴ It is generally believed that the Thessalian contingent was almost wholly composed of cavalry (*Macan, n. ad loc.*), but this is an unwarranted assumption. Some Thessalians must be included in the 'Boeotian and other cavalry' which covered the retreat of the right wing (*ibid.* 68), but the wording implies that the Boeotians predominated in this force. It is likely that a considerable body of Thessalian hoplites took part in the battle. The Persian superiority in cavalry was already overwhelming, so that the cavalry of Thessaly was not so valuable to Mardonius as it would have been to the Greeks. Thorax in his capacity as *tagus* was entitled to mobilise the army of the *κοινόν*, which from the earliest times included a large proportion of hoplites (*Xen. Hell.* VI. 1. 8 and 19). These infantrymen, unlike the baronial cavalry, fought with as little spirit as the rest of the medising Greeks (Hdt. IX. 67, ἐθελοκακούντων).

⁴² Plutarch (*De Mal. Herod.* 866e-f) regards this statement as absurd on the ground that the Thessalians were bitter enemies of Thebes; but the Thessalian defeat at Coroneia, to which he refers, took place some sixty years before this event. Beloch, *op. cit.* I. 2. 205-6, believes that this battle was fought about 540.

⁴³ According to Herodotus (VIII. 115) some part of the Persian losses by plague were sustained before Xerxes left Thessaly. The whole account is, of course, exaggerated.

⁴⁴ *Macan, n. ad loc.*; Beloch, *op. cit.* II. 2. 72; How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, n. ad loc.

In Peloponnesian eyes the medism of the Thessalians was the outcome of preconceived statecraft rather than an unavoidable makeshift. Within a few years of the Persian retreat the Spartan king Leotychidas led a punitive expedition to Thessaly,⁴⁵ where he found it impossible to force his more mobile opponents to a pitched battle and was compelled to embark upon the slow process of reducing the chief strongholds piecemeal. In this he was successful, expelling two aristocratic leaders, Aristomedes and Angelus (Plut. *De Mal.* Herod. 859d), who were doubtless allies of the Aleuadae. Since Thessalian families were remarkably conservative in their choice of names and an Aristomedes of Pherae lived in the fourth century, Beloch⁴⁶ is probably right in associating the former with that city. His emendation of Angelus into Agelaus, a Pharsalian name, is arbitrary and unconvincing, especially as Pharsalus was probably the centre of opposition to the Aleuad policy. The Spartan king 'could have made the whole country subject to him' (Hdt. VI. 72, cp. Paus. III. 7. 9), but he was not proof against the bribes of the Aleuadae, so that the armament eventually sailed home without attaining its chief object. Larisa was still dominated by the Aleuadae, who now, if not earlier, adopted the Aeginetan standard in place of the Persian. Nevertheless they lost the tageia, which passed to the Echecratidae of Pharsalus.⁴⁷

IV. CONCLUSION.

Many scholars believe that Herodotus is unduly biased in favour of the Thessalians and that he has found in the house of Aleuas a convenient scapegoat to carry the sins of the whole nation.⁴⁸ This alleged bias is thought to originate from the well-attested association between Herodotus and Athens. Resident there for some years subsequent to 445, he had an unbounded admiration for the city of Pericles, and this is said to have led him to condone the treachery of the Thessalians, who in the Periclean period were allies of Athens. This friendship, it is further argued, was with the Thessalian populace rather than with the aristocracy. Hence the Aleuadae are singled out for condemnation by Herodotus; they are falsely accused of long-standing intrigue with Persia, whereas in fact they entered into precautionary negotiations with Xerxes only when, thanks to their exposed position and the selfish policy of the southern Greeks, they were in danger of being left isolated.

This hypothesis appears to me to be wholly without foundation. The motives attributed to Herodotus are unconvincing; considerations of Athenian foreign policy in the Periclean era would not cause him to be prejudiced either in favour of the Thessalians in general or against the

⁴⁵ The date is perhaps 477, but this disputed question lies outside the scope of the present article.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* II. 1. 62, n. 3.

⁴⁷ I can see nothing to recommend the theory of Herrmann (*op. cit.* 7-8) that the Aleuadae had already lost the tageia before this expedition. From Herodotus and Pausanias it follows that their bribes were preventative, namely to save themselves from

the fate of Aristomedes and Angelus and to maintain their suzerainty over the district whose centre was Larisa. But no bribery could prolong their tenure of the tageia, for local feeling naturally ran strongly in favour of the anti-Persian party.

⁴⁸ Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 212; Munro, *JHS* (1902, 305); How and Wells, *op. cit.* 40; Beloch, *op. cit.* II. 1. 41-2.

Aleuadae. It is true that during this period Athens and Thessaly were nominally allies (Thuc. I. 102 and II. 22), but the Athenians had little joy of their alliance. The defeat at Tanagra was largely due to the desertion of the Thessalian cavalry (Thuc. I. 107; Diod. XI. 80, 2-6; Paus. I. 29, 9); a subsequent expedition under Myronides to Pharsalus ended in failure (Thuc. I. 111; Diod. XI. 83, 3-4); another Thessalian cavalry army, which operated in Attica in 431, was worsted in a skirmish and apparently returned home without rendering further assistance (Thuc. II. 22).⁴⁹ It was only for brief moments during the lifetime of Herodotus that the Athenians could feel any debt of gratitude to the Thessalians. The contention of Meyer that the mass of the Thessalians were consistently friendly to Athens and the nobles consistently hostile has the support of a passage in Thucydides (IV. 78, τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αἰεὶ ποτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εὖνοιον ὑπῆρχεν, the date being 424), but this general statement is not substantiated by the evidence of relations between the two states in the Periclean period. According to Meyer it was the nobles who were guilty of treachery at Tanagra, but it is far more likely that this defection was the first step in the revolt of the urban democracies against aristocratic domination;⁵⁰ for Orestes, son of Echeocrates, was expelled from Pharsalus at this time, and the expedition of Myronides was undertaken with the object of restoring him. Further, the Larisean contingent in the cavalry army of 431 was led by two commanders representing conflicting factions (Thuc. II. 22, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἐκάτερος), and one of these must surely have been an aristocrat and an Aleuad.

The Aleuadae were wholly responsible for the medism of Thessaly, public opinion being largely antagonistic to their policy. That this feeling remained almost unvoiced was due partly to the universal predominance of local aristocracies at the opening of the fifth century and partly to the special authority enjoyed by the baronial house which held the tageia. Herodotus shared with other ancient historians a profound ignorance of the peculiar political institutions of the Thessalians, but his account of their foreign policy during the Persian wars is based on reliable information reliably transmitted. The numismatic evidence adduced by Herrmann serves to confirm a narrative which is already conclusive.

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⁴⁹ The Thessalian reputation for treachery, notorious in later times, dates only from the second half of the fifth century and probably originated in Athens. The earliest reference to it seems to be by

Euripides (*fr.* 426, Nauck).

⁵⁰ Costanzi, *op. cit.* 88; my *Thessaly in the Fourth Century B.C.*, 31-2.

THE INTERPRETATION OF GREEK MUSIC: AN ADDENDUM

THE main object of this addition to the paper published under the above title in *JHS* xlii. 133, is to make known a new discovery in the shape of an unanswerable argument leading to the same solution as before of the problem presented by the Greek notation. This problem is still considered to overshadow all other problems.¹ After the conclusion of the argument the writer proposes to make a few necessary corrections in the former paper, and to lay further emphasis on certain points.

It is an unfortunate circumstance in the music of to-day that performers and composers alike, even those destined to spend their lives as devotees of opera and symphony, begin their careers with little or no acquaintance with the most important branch of musical knowledge, the theory of intonation. They have been taught to think in terms of a scale tuned by fifths (whether tempered or true makes no practical difference), and *au fond* their instructor is the piano tuner. This is quintal music, to borrow a term used by historians in speculation regarding primitive origins. Tertian music on the other hand is derived not only from the quint but from the true major and minor thirds and is, therefore, the basis of harmony. The quintal scale has no common chords; its triads are all discordant. The music of the organ and piano pretends that its dissonant triads are common chords, and claims therefore to have six of them in the major scale. No tertian major scale can have more than five; two have only three apiece. Nevertheless, since both systems are taught indiscriminately from the same text-books, tertian music uses six, frequently without any thought to the intonational consequences. The importance of intonation is overlooked, and the subject cheerfully abandoned to the acoustician. We have not yet discovered that intonation is concerned with ideals, and acoustics with brute measurements. Acousticians who have entered the field of music have left behind them a trail of misconceptions, out of which five may here be quoted:—(1) that Indian music is founded on caprice;² (2) that definite inferences regarding intonation can be drawn from measurements of holes and frets;³ (3) that travellers' tales and primitive theories can be treated as evidence of fact; (4) that there is one 'just major'; (5) that, in the melodic descending form, there is one 'just minor.'

Greek theory was mainly concerned with intonation. From Pythagoras it received the most exact intonational notation that the world has ever known. Little use, however, was made of it. To grasp the

¹ See the introduction to Düring's *Ptolemaios und Porphyrios*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift XI (1934).

singers, not that of the bazaar or theatre, or the efforts of harmonium-trained amateurs.

² Aristoxenos knew better (*Harm.* II. 42, 43).

³ The music meant is that of the hereditary *Durbar*

facts with which we are concerned, it is necessary to know how this came to pass. The theory, as in India, seems to have begun with an attempt to classify scales on the basis of an imaginary division of the octave into equal parts. The invention of the monochord or *kanon* by Pythagoras in the sixth century B.C. was destined in the long run to cause these speculations to be superseded by accurate measurements in terms of comparative string-lengths. Presumably with the help of the musician, he measured the national scale and reduced its intervals to quintalised substitutes, that is, intervals that could be got from fifths and octaves, and whose string-length ratios could therefore be put in the form $2^x 3^y$. This was essential to his plan, because he intended to put his notation in the form of a structure built of tetrachords, carrying its own meaning to the musician, without any explanation whatsoever. Possibly he was inspired by the monuments of Egypt. He took at the same pitch the octave scales of the C mode, D mode, E mode, and their corresponding *hypo*-modes with finals F, G, A. (The B mode was added on the same plan, before the time of Aristoxenos, by the men who carried on the traditions of the school he founded.) He dissected his six modal scales into E mode tetrachords in the usual Greek manner. He picked out their *meses*, and strung them in order of pitch in a scale. He adjusted that scale to quintal tuning. This led to a slight readjustment of the pitch of the Lydian and Hypolydian scales (C and F modes) already plotted out. The quintal scale of the *meses* seems to have become known as the *thetic* scale.⁴ It acquired importance in the theatre as the basis of the tuning method, for we learn that the theatre used all the six modes of Pythagoras.⁵ It is probable that an eight-stringed kithara was tuned to the *thetic* scale; the *mese* as required was picked out and the rest of the modal scale tuned from it. This could be quickly done, and all the modes in turn could be got at about the same pitch. The next step taken by Pythagoras in devising his notation was to take his six scales and extend each one from the *mese* up and down so that they became a complete two-octave system in the A mode. They now looked like six exactly similar two-octave systems at pitches that differed by fourths; they were to all appearance transposition-scales. They were in the modulating system, having a *synemmenon* tetrachord. Each of these systems was now called a *tonos* and named after the mode hidden within it. To the musician, the name disclosed the mode, and the *synemmenon* tetrachord the intonation. These *tonoi* were exhibited with symbols to represent the notes. The twenty-four letters of the Ionian alphabet were used for the singing notation, and another series, called the instrumental notation, consisting of certain letters in three positions, erect, recumbent, and averted, was added for the use of the kithara player. Thus a mighty weapon for the advancement of harmony was forged. But it had no immediate success. Pythagoras was persecuted, and his followers killed or dispersed. More than a century later, Timaeus and Archytas among others were gathering up the remains of the musical activities of Pythagoras. Plato

⁴ Aristoxenos, *Harm.* III. 69; Ptolemy, *Harm.* II. 10, 11.

⁵ Anon. § 28, ed. Bellermin, Berlin, 1841.

was much interested in their work, but seems to have learnt nothing beyond the most elementary facts of intonation. The mention of the term *apotome* by those interested in the revival of Pythagorean learning⁶ gives rise to inferences favourable to the hard or tertian diatonic as opposed to the soft or septimal. The *apotome* was the quintalised just semitone, and could be derived in three ways: (1) seven fifths up less four octaves, (2) three octaves up less seven fourths, (3) the tone less the leimma. Its ratio in the form $2^7 3^5$ was $3^7 2^{11}$. In his *tonoi*, Pythagoras took the interval in descent as three octaves less seven fourths, as will be demonstrated. It will of course be remembered that the use of fifths and fourths alternately amounts to the same thing as the use of fifths and octaves or fourths and octaves. Archytas put forward certain septimal scales. They are put out of court as explanatory of the notation, because his soft semitone could not be quintalised. His diatonic, the *toniaion*, was probably already in existence, but his enharmonic has the appearance of having been invented to explain the six *tonoi*. It is an impossible scale, suggested evidently by the erroneous idea that was then shaping itself that the enharmonic should divide the lowest interval of the E mode tetrachord into approximately equal parts. The note added by the enharmonic genus was in essence a grace note close in pitch to the note it ornamented. And that is what the notation gives us. We have the same thing. Our tetrachord is the C mode tetrachord; we think in terms of the major scale. The result is that we enharmonically ornament the D's and A's instead of the F's and C's. But the modern theorist has not yet awakened to the fact. When he does he will perhaps embody it in a new genus. When Aristoxenos appeared on the scene, the seventh *tonos*, the Hyperdorian, had been added. This *tonos* destroyed the symmetry of the scheme by mixing enharmonic and chromatic tetrachords. It acted as a bridge to the later *tonoi*, most of which came into existence in the time of Aristoxenos. They had no enharmonic; they consisted of diatonic and chromatic. When the whole notation was given to the world by Alypius in the second century A.D., the enharmonic and chromatic were not distinguished, one being a copy of the other. It may be observed that the first seven *tonoi* gave the whole notation. No note was ever added. It is also worthy of notice that the additional *tonoi* were inserted between the original ones with consummate skill. We are forced to the conclusion that the men responsible were conversant with the meaning of the notation, and the intonation of all the common scales in use. Aristoxenos devoted his attention to music after the death of Aristotle in 322 B.C. He bitterly opposed the practice of the notation and the use of the monochord. He seems to have made common cause with the professional. He tried to justify his attitude.⁷ The idea that students and amateurs should be enabled to acquire in a few days the knowledge and experience of a lifetime was repugnant to him. He therefore revived the obsolete pre-Pythagorean methods. For this and other reasons, Ptolemy, five hundred years later, condemned him as both stupid

⁶ Vide Gaudentius, ed. Jan., p. 343; pseudo-Philolaus, ap. Boethium, *Mus.* III, 8.

⁷ *Harm.* II, 41.

and insincere.* Shortly before Ptolemy came Didymus, who, like Archytas, seems to have tried to explain the tetrachords of the first six *tonoi*. He had the distinction of being the first writer correctly to interpret the diatonic tetrachord ($\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{9}{8}$, $\frac{5}{4}$).⁹ Ptolemy was the first to introduce us to the scales of Archytas and Didymus, and to give us the measurements of the *syntonon*, the favourite plain diatonic scale in the Alexandria of his day. Except for the philosophy of the third book, his *Harmonik* is in substance an elaborate and closely argued plea for the adoption of an eight-stringed *kanon* capable of giving the modes of any scale in exact intonation. He shows how scales

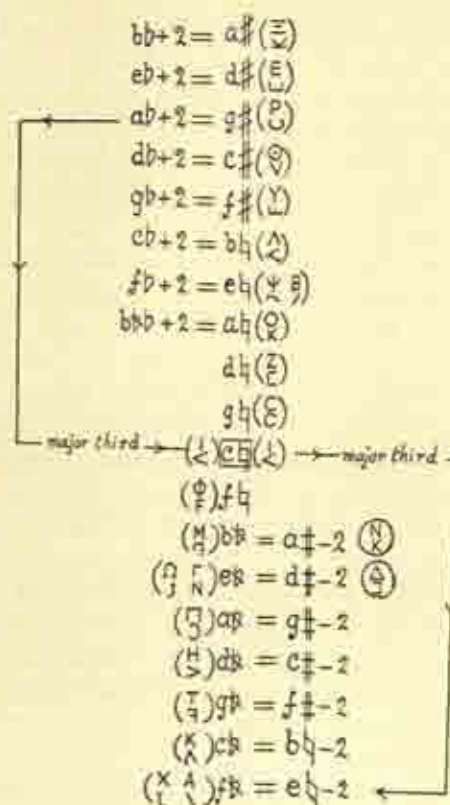


DIAGRAM 1.

The figure 2 designates approximately 2 cents; + means 'sharper by' and - 'flatter by.'
The symbols in circles are those of the duplicate notes.

may be invented with the help of a monochord, and gives the principles which, in his opinion, should govern the process. He does not admit apparently that scales derive from the analysis of living melody. Melody always precedes grammar and scale. His principles are also ill-founded. Like all the Greek scribes, he knows nothing of the final and dominant that define a mode and have more influence than anything else on the construction of its scale. He bestows too little attention in common with his predecessors on the plain tertian diatonic scales. Absorbed in the sup-

* *Harm.* I, 9, 10.

* Also named the *syntonon*.

posed rigidity of the E mode tetrachord he does not realise that it may sometimes be a false tetrachord, as in the Ionian.

Through all these centuries of idle controversy, the peasantry at their daily tasks were singing in the old ἀπρονία. That was the music that passed into the Church and laid the foundations of modern music. The modes had four parent-scales, the double syntonon, the double syntheton, the syntonon followed in ascent by the syntheton, and the false tetrachord, just semitone, major tone, major tone, followed by the syntonon, with the tone of conjunction a minor tone. The last is the *śadja grāma* of India, one of the most widely spread of all scales, the scale of the epitaph of Seikilos, the Ionian scale.

The synemmenon, we have said, gave the clue to the intonation of the six tonoi. It modulates to the nearest 'key' on the flat side. In the process (see Diagram 2), Doh is flattened and becomes the Soh of the new key. If the scale had been the syntonon, called by us in the C mode the 'just major,' Ray would have been flattened and made Lah. This turns on the false fifth. Every harmonic (or tertian) scale, consisting of three major tones, two minor tones, and two just semitones regularly placed, must have one fifth embracing both the minor tones. This can be proved mathematically or by simple trial. In acoustics it is called the grave fifth, but, in the theory of intonation, false is a better epithet because falsity is its main property, not size. A true fifth holds two major tones and one minor tone, whereas a false fifth holds two minor tones and one major tone. The false fifth is smaller by a comma. It is the scale-maker of tertian music. Any scale of the kind under consideration can be completely reconstructed if its false fifth is properly described; no other datum is necessary. The two true fifths that separate the semitones, and the remaining three fifths, also true, have merely to be fitted into their places. The false fifth Ray-Lah defines the syntonon, and the false fifth Doh-Soh the syntheton. In change of key, the false fifth is necessarily shifted, the original one being made true. Modulating on the flat side lowers its lower note; modulating on the sharp side sharpens its upper note.

In the proof we shall use the same notation as before, making $\frac{1}{2}$ our pitch note. The four 'strings of fifths' mentioned on p. 136 in my former paper may now be called the four quintal series, and named: the low sharp series, the low series, the straight series, and the high series. The first we shall not need; for it will be seen from Diagram 3 that, where two notes have been coupled by a tie, the second is now identified with the first, whereas by an error in the former paper the second was made a comma lower. These notes are here referred to as the 'duplicated' notes (*vide* Diagram 1, note). As regards the properties of a quintal series, it may be remembered that any seven consecutive members of such a series form a quintal scale when brought together, and that alternate members are always separated by a major tone, provided they come together in the same octave. A reference to Diagram 1 shows that the series on the left is derived from the straight series in the centre by the major third. Middle G (ϵ') enclosed in a square is identified with $\frac{1}{2}$, the mese

of the Lydian tonos. Its major third, e' , generates the low series. The diagram also shows in the straight series how major thirds to a close approximation can be obtained from notes of one and the same series.

We shall confine the inquiry to the notes denoted by the usual letters of the Ionian alphabet in the vocal notation. Tetrachords an octave apart, such as (a) and (d) (Diagram 2) need not be separately considered. In each tonos any three consecutive tetrachords differ from one another. Beginning from the Hypolydian we have three different tetrachords; a new tetrachord in the shape of the synemmenon is added by the remaining tonoi, the Lydian, Hypophrygian, Phrygian, Hypodorian, Dorian, making eight tetrachords in all. It is probable that the original six *tonoi* gave no synemmenon to the Dorian. But we need that synemmenon for the proof, and justify ourselves on the ground that the diatonic scale of the



DIAGRAM 2.

$\flat + 2$ means approximately 2 cents sharper than the pitch shown by the notation.

next *tonos*, the Hyperdorian, is exactly similar to the diatonic in the other six *tonoi*.

We shall assume (1) that each tetrachord covers a true fourth, and (2) that every complete scale consists of two similar tetrachords. No other assumption is necessary.

In the Hypolydian, the terminals of the tetrachords (a), (b), (c) give this ascending series of fourths: $\frac{W}{H}, \frac{\Gamma}{\Gamma}, \frac{C}{C}, \frac{I}{<}$. The Lydian (tetrachord c) takes the series up to $\frac{U}{Z}$. We now descend two octaves down to $\frac{Z}{Z}$ and the terminals of tetrachords (a), (b), (c) in the Hypodorian complete the series of ascending fourths $\frac{Z}{Z}, \frac{\Omega}{E}, \frac{\Pi}{J}, \frac{\Pi}{D}$. The note with which we started may now be raised by an octave to $\frac{O}{K}$. The question is: what is the interval between $\frac{O}{K}$ and $\frac{\Pi}{D}$? We fell an octave to $\frac{W}{H}$, then rose four fourths, then

[illegible][illegible]

DIAGRAM 1

+ 2^o means that the actual pitch of the Greek note is a cent, sharper than the pitch shown by the accidental; - 2^o means that the actual pitch is a cent, flatter. The duplicates are marked by slurs, and, in the intervals, by the figure 6.

fell two octaves, and finally rose three more fourths. That is a rise of 7×498 , and a fall of 3600, a net fall of 114, the apotome. And this very pair of notes forming the apotome constitutes the lowest interval in the Dorian synemmenon. On the second assumption above, that interval can be traced right through the tetrachords under consideration. Every tetrachord therefore in accent begins with the apotome. Secondly, since two fourths subtracted from an octave leave a major tone, the interval ΦC in the Hypophrygian is a major tone. It appears in the Lydian as the upper interval in tetrachord (a). On the second assumption above, that interval can also be traced in all the tetrachords. The diatonic tetrachord of Pythagoras was therefore apotome, quintalised minor tone, major tone, in cents, 114, 180, 204. Diagram 1 traces all the notes under consideration as a *κοινώνια κατὰ τετράχορδα*,¹⁰ and shows how they may be rationalised, or dequintalised.

The duplicated notes next fall to be discussed. From the diatonic we have discovered the meaning of 22 notes out of those covered by the letters of the alphabet in the vocal notation. The remaining two, Δ and Ν, appear, not in the diatonic, but in the enharmonic-cum-chromatic as it should be called. Δ is in the Lydian, and Ν in the Hypolydian. Ν appears in the Dorian synemmenon, and both appear in the Hyperdorian, meson and synemmenon. With the exception of these three named tetrachords, every tetrachord in the enharmonic-cum-chromatic takes its pyknon in the instrumental form erect, recumbent, averted. Where the symbols used are among those we have just identified from the diatonic, the cent order of the intervals of the pyknon is + 114, - 24. We may assume that the pyknons in the Lydian and Hypolydian which contain the symbols Δ and Ν, are in the same form. This establishes Δ and Ν, by analogy, as duplicates of the erect notes Γ and Μ respectively. The Dorian synemmenon introduces abnormally a tetrachord beginning with an averted instead of an erect sign. The next erect sign is taken to make up the apotome, but the further flattening could not be indicated with the symbols in hand. The difficulty was overcome by proceeding to the next averted sign, making the tetrachord chromatic in the syntono-chromatic colouring. Thus was the progression apotome-leimma *concurrent* turned into the progression apotome-leimma *consecutive*. If the *tonoi* be taken in the order given by the synemmenon tetrachords, which we may suppose to have been intended, it will be found that this latter arrangement is continued through the additional *tonoi* until the point where they begin to complete the harmonic circle and return to the Hypolydian.

The diatonic synemmenon of the Hypoionian is $\begin{smallmatrix} \times \Phi C O \\ \tau F C K \end{smallmatrix}$; the cent intervals are 114, 204, 204. This is the false fourth. The same interval separates the proslambanomenoi of the Hypoionian and Ionian *tonoi*. It is here, therefore, that the correction of the comma is inserted. Who-

¹⁰ Vide Aristides, *Meibom*, p. 25.

ever performed this operation may be regarded as an unknown musician who knew more about his art than all the theorists combined.

Diagram 3 gives the whole range of notes. The lowest line gives the accidentals of exact pitch; the middle line gives those which exhibit the instrumental notation to the best advantage, and the upper line indicates the possibility of vocalising the notes in their order. The differences involved in these several aspects of the notation are partly due to the fact that the low flats were sometimes used as such and sometimes as sharps. The difference is one of function, the sharp being associated with the idea of ascent by means of a semitone made familiar by constant use, and the flat being associated with the idea of a similar descent. The notes with erect instrumental signs are emphasised as crotchets.

The instrumental notation was evidently meant for the lyre or kithara. Vase paintings shew both instruments with a bar for altering the pitch,

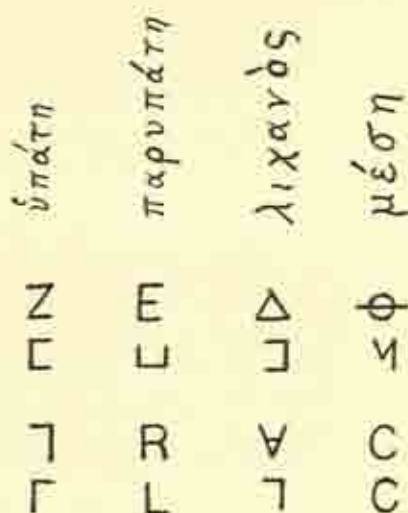


DIAGRAM 4.

but the bar was not invariably attached to them, not 'standard' to use a modern expression. To quote from Plato: 'in all lyre-playing the pitch of each note is hunted for and guessed; so that it is mixed with much that is uncertain, and contains little that is steady'.¹¹ We may safely assume that the erect letter stood for the open string, the recumbent for the just semitone (rather than the quintalised apotome) obtained by a full turn of the bar through a right angle to the left, and the averted to an incomplete turn resulting in the quintal semitone or leimma. Aristoxenos, in dissecting the tetrachord, assumes that the mese, lichanos, parhypate, hypate invariably followed the order of pitch. Centuries earlier, the player, having plucked the topmost string or hypate with the thumb, gave a full turn to the bar, and again plucked the string with the thumb, sounding the parhypate. He played the lichanos with his forefinger on the next open string. It could, however, be got from the first string by the

¹¹ *Philebus*, 56.

half turn. That would mean three strokes on the hypate followed by a leap over the next two strings to the mese.¹² In Diagram 4, the symbols for the lichanos agree with Alypius and Aristides, but not with most recensions of the three manuscript hymns. The latter prefer the open string. Again it is important to notice that Alypius studiously avoids the term lichanos in the diatonic. Perhaps the extension of the notation to auletic led to the abandonment of the fingering tradition in favour of the idea of pitch. The line of pitch does not suit the enharmonic genus, for the simple reason that it is not easily vocalised. The chorus from Orestes gives both progressions, that of Pythagoras and that of the post-Pythagorean theorists, the zigzag and the straight line. The zigzag is used first in the chorus and is more favoured.

In lyre-playing it seems to have been the practice when tuning the Lydian mode to slacken all the strings as a preliminary. That would undoubtedly be the quickest method, because all the notes of the scale are low except the final C and its fourth F. There may have been some contrivance to limit the slackening to the comma. The final and its fourth could then be tuned up to their original pitch.

It is to be hoped that in future more attention will be paid to the notation and the surviving music, for more is to be learnt from them than from the theorists.

The main correction to be made in the former paper is in the treatment of the duplicated notes. The correction makes no difference to the music; moreover it removes the difficulties there discussed. For example, the instrumental passage from the chorus becomes a striking corroboration instead of an anomaly. As regards the barring of the music of the manuscript hymns it may be pointed out that the only pieces with rhythmic signs, namely the chorus and epitaph, are seen to be barred if their rhythm be closely examined. The writer is pleased to find that he is strongly supported by the opinions expressed in 1880 by Dom Pothier (*Mémoires Grégoriennes*, Tournai), who says, on p. 125: 'to ignore accent and keep to quantity was never the mode with any language, *accentus anima vocis*.' A point of detail of considerable importance is the meaning to be attached to the three signs allotted to the falling tone at the end of the epitaph. The middle sign is a cross; it is not meant for a note. The common error of putting three notes to the falling tone in this instance, and thereby depriving the melody of all meaning, has been copied by a famous modern composer. Lastly, it was noticed that the extant music sometimes makes the mese the final and the hypate and nete the dominants. The inference was not clearly expressed that the prefix 'hypo-' served to indicate this exchange of functions. If this important inference be accepted, it makes the mode of Nemesis the Hypophrygian. It is supported by Ptolemy's assertion that in the beginning there were three modes only, but too much importance should not be attached to that.

¹² One stroke with the glide is a probable alternative. Lyre-playing could be supremely beautiful.

Anyone who heard Muzraf Khan on the bina would understand.

There are a few corrections to be made in the music. The more important are the following:—Calliope: on the first syllable of μόλπης, substitute *ab* for *f*. The falling tones on the words δοεῖτω and μουσῶν need adjustment. Nemesis, eighth bar: the second syllable of θνατῶν should take both the notes Γ and υ. In that hymn, the notes Γ and Λ, as used in the several recensions, have been taken to be intended for Γ and Δ, now known to be duplicates.

In striving to avoid the cutting of fresh type, the writer conceived the idea of using capitals for the straight or quintal notes and small letters for the low *e* of the major third *Ce*, and the quintal series of low notes derived from it. The result is here shewn in the four primary scales of ancient Greece:—

E mode:	Dorian or Syntheton:	<i>e</i> F g a b C' d' e'.
	Syntonon:	<i>e</i> F G a b C' D' e'.
C mode:	Acolian:	C d <i>e</i> F G a b C'.
D mode:	Ionian:	D <i>e</i> F G A b C' D'.

E. CLEMENTS.

2, *Argyll Mansions, London, W.* 14.

GREAT-HEARTED ODYSSEUS

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF 'STOCK-EPITHETS' IN

HOMER'S *Odyssey*.

Tell me, Muse, of that resourceful Man who travelled far,
After he had sacked the sacred walls of Troy in war,
And looked on many towns of men, and learnt their mind, while he
In his own heart suffered many sorrows on the sea,
To save himself from death and doom and bring his comrades safely home—
Eager though he was, he could not save them; they were fools and ate
The cattle of our Lord the Sun-God; their own folly proved their fate—
Something of that story, goddess, child of Zeus, to us relate.

THAT, so far as the Muse is concerned, is a complete epic paragraph, the form marked by the chime, 'Tell, Muse . . . goddess, child of Zeus, relate!' The Man, his character and his adventures, his comrades and their folly, are to be the Muse's theme. And yet the pattern still awaits completion, since the Man is not yet named. The second paragraph fulfils an expectation. We are in suspense until we hear 'godlike Odysseus' at the end.

The rest, as many as escaped from battle with dear life,
Were at home, escaped from war and perils of the sea:
He alone, though longing for his home and for his Wife
Was kept by the bright Nymph Calypso in her cave, for she
Longed to have him as her consort and to keep him for her own.
But when amid the circling years at last the year was come
In which the gods had spun his thread of fate to travel home
To Ithaca—though even there he was not quite set free from care,
Though among his friends at home—the high gods every one
At last began to pity him, except Poseidon—he alone
Stubbornly, implacably, was angry as before
Against god-like Odysseus till he reached his native shore.

Again, so far as the Man is concerned, the formula is now complete: 'Resourceful Man . . . his Wife . . . god-like Odysseus.' Yet in the mention of the gods a subtle shift of emphasis has made us feel that after all the climax is to come. 'Muse . . . Hyperion . . . goddess, child of Zeus: Calypso, bright among goddesses, . . . the gods . . . all the gods, except Poseidon. . . . Do we not expect a return to Zeus?

At any rate, that is what we get.

But He had gone a journey to a people far away—
Dwellers on the furthest bounds of humankind are they—
The Aethiopians, who dwell in two divisions, one
Where the Sun sets, and the other at the rising of the Sun:
Thither for an hecatomb of sheep and oxen he was gone.

So Hyperion reappears. The formula is—'Muse . . . Hyperion . . . goddess, child of Zeus: Calypso, bright among goddesses . . . gods . . . all the gods except Poseidon: Hyperion, . . . all the other gods . . . and Zeus':—

He was seated at the feast, and took his pleasure. All the rest
Of the gods were gathered in the palace-hall of Zeus
Olympian, and He, the Sire of Men and Gods, addressed them thus:—

This is the climax of the series. Muse, Man, Hyperion, goddess, child of Zeus: Nymph, Woman, gods, all other gods except Poseidon; god-like Odysseus: Hyperion, all other gods, Zeus the Olympian, the Sire of Gods and Men.

The art is like that of the *Iliad*, with its formula:—

Achilles . . . Death . . . Zeus . . . glorious Achilles

but the effect is different. This is heroic Comedy, not Tragedy. The story is to have a happy ending. The central notion, governing it all, is stated now by Zeus, when he bethinks him of Aegisthus who was slain by young Orestes, 'Agamemnon's far-famed son.'

'Fie upon these mortals! How they blame us gods and say
All their trouble comes from us! Upon themselves they lay
By their folly grief beyond their portion . . .'

This mention of far-famed Orestes and Aegisthus, who was warned and would not heed the warning, is the poet's indirect, but sufficient introduction of Telemachus and of the suitors. The main theme of this colloquy in heaven is to be Odysseus. Athena will see to that. But it is right, because this is the prelude to the *Telemachia*, as well as to the *Odyssey*, that at the end of her last speech she herself promises to visit Ithaca 'to rouse his son, and in his heart put courage to denounce the suitors and to go to Sparta and to Pylos—that he may have fame among mankind.' That balances the reference of Zeus to Agamemnon's 'famous son.'

The main theme of the *Odyssey* will be Odysseus. The first paragraph therefore rightly belonged to him. The second paragraph belonged to him and to his wife. The formula of the first two paragraphs is 'Man . . . Wife . . . god-like Odysseus.' But Telemachus, the son, is not forgotten. The formula of the Colloquy in heaven is 'Famous Orestes . . . Odysseus . . . Odysseus . . . Odysseus . . . and his son, that he may win fame.' Only those who do not know the elements of Homer's pattern-making can regard this Prelude as a patchwork.

The purpose of this paper is to add a pennyweight of common sense in favour of the view that the *Telemachy* was always what it purports now to be, the poet's introduction to his *Odyssey*. When Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz, Bérard and the host of minor prophets bid us think the journey of Telemachus away, and make our first acquaintance with Odysseus in Calypso's island, they do Homer's hero no good service. It is idle for the poet to assure us, his Odysseus is 'great-hearted,' if we don't already know it, when he tells us in the same breath, 'Hermes did not find him in the grotto—he was weeping on the beach as usual.' We understand, thanks to the *Telemachia*. We have learnt to know the man already, we have seen his country, we have met his wife and son, and we have visited his comrades of the war, and that is why, when we go down with Calypso to the beach and find 'great-hearted Odysseus weeping still—eyes never dry, because the Nymph no longer pleased him,' we smile as Homer meant we should.

We know Odysseus has better reason than that for his distress, and we know he *is* 'great-hearted,' however helplessly he sits and weeps. The truth is, we *cannot* think the *Telemachia* away. From the first word of the Prelude to Penelope's dream-vision, every episode has added something to our picture of 'the various man . . . whom, longing for his wife and home, the fair Calypso entertained . . . god-like Odysseus.'

First the divine Colloquy has shown us how the gods regard him. His good friend Athena pleads for 'the wise Odysseus . . . ill-starred . . . unfortunate': Zeus, the Gatherer of Clouds, protests 'How should I, pray, forget divine Odysseus, who surpasses other men in wisdom and in generosity of sacrifice': and then Athena, with a happy echo to complete the pattern, tells her plan for rescuing 'the wise Odysseus . . . Odysseus of the patient and courageous heart.'

In Ithaca, 'at the threshold of the court before Odysseus' house,' Athena found the suitors. In their midst Telemachus sat 'brooding on his good father.' He was 'god-like in his beauty,' and he was the first to see the guest. He rose with a courteous greeting, and he put Athena's spear into the rack in which stood many others, 'spears of Odysseus of the patient and courageous heart.'

As he talked with the guest, he was still thinking of his father, but in his depression could not find the heart to name him. So he said—'A man whose bones are rotting . . . κείνον . . . κείνος . . . are you ξείνος πατρώϊος?' She answered, 'Yes, I am Mentēs: we are indeed ξείνοι πατρώϊοι: ask Laertes! But I thought your father was already home . . . the glorious Odysseus of a surety is not dead. . . . He will return, he will devise some way of escape, for he is πολυμήχανος. But what of you? Are you indeed his son?'

To which the answer was—'My mother says so. . . . How I wish I had been the son of a happy man, for *he* is ill-starred. . . .' But the goddess said, 'You will not lack good fame if you are indeed Penelope's child.'

That is the first mention in the poem of Penelope's name: and it marks the central point of this dialogue: the formula is 'Odysseus . . . Penelope . . . Odysseus.'

Telemachus resumes, with κείνος ἀνὴρ . . . κείνον . . . κείνον. Pallas cries, 'Indeed you need Odysseus home—Odysseus, as I saw him first, with helmet, shield and his two spears, at our house-door, when he came back from Ephyra and my father, since he loved him terribly, even gave him poison for his arrows.' Thus the climax of the series is a picture of Odysseus as a cunning archer, no good omen for the suitors. 'What of you?' Athena adds. 'Devise your plan . . . call an assembly . . . call the gods to witness . . . then take ship . . . and if you learn that he is dead, pay him due honours, marry your mother, then devise your plan to slay the suitors. . . . Have you not heard of glorious Orestes?'

'You advise me like a father,' says the boy. The final courteous exchange of compliments is made, and the guest disappears. 'She had given him strength and courage: she had put him even more in mind of his father, and he thought she was a god. . . . He went among the suitors, a god-like man.'

Meanwhile the minstrel had been singing, and the suitors' revelry, at first so noisy, had been charmed to silence by the poet's spell. Penelope here takes her rightful place. In the Prelude she was γυναικός: at the centre of the conversation with Athena she was named 'Penelope,' as mother of Telemachus: now she appears in person, introduced with formal phrase

The daughter of Ikarios, discreet Penelope . . .

We wait to hear what she will say about Odysseus.

The famous minstrel sang, and all sat silent and were still,
While he told his tale, how bitter by Athena's will
Was the Greek returning-home; and in her upper room
The daughter of Ikarios, discreet Penelope,
Heard, and understood, and down the steep stair presently
Came her way, two serving-maidens with her, to the place
Where the suitors sat in Hall. There covering her face
With a veil, that fairest among women took her stand
Close to the main pillar, with a serving-maid on either hand,
Weeping for a while, and then addressed the bard divine:

'Phemius, you know full well many tales that poets tell
For the fame and the delight of mortals. While they drink their wine
In silence, sing them from that store
Any other tale you please, but of this tale no more:
It is too hard for me to bear: I am afflicted sore:
For there is one I long for always, and remember always, one
Known to fame throughout all Hellas and in royal Argos known,
My husband.'

Wise Telemachus made answer 'Mother, do not chide
The trusty minstrel in your heart because for men's delight
He sings whatever song he will, whatever way his heart indite.
It is not poets are to blame, but Zeus, who dealeth mortal men,
Each and all according to his pleasure, joy or bane.
Therefore it is no disgrace to him to sing of the distress
Of the Greeks. The story always that delights the people's ear
Is the newest. Then be strong, and steel yourself to hear.
Not Odysseus only—many others were denied
The joy of safe return from Troy, where many heroes died.'

She heard, and marvelled when she heard, and to her chamber went
Treasuring her son's wise word; and with her women wept
For her dear husband, till at length the grey-eyed goddess sent
Gentle sleep upon her eyes, and peacefully she slept.

'Fie upon these mortals,' said the Father, 'How they blame us gods,
and say their troubles come from us!' 'It is not poets are to blame, but
Zeus . . . ' says the boy to his mother. Presently, when the minstrel is
in danger in the general massacre, the boy will tell his father 'He is not to
blame,' and the man's life will be spared (xxii. 354). And in the end, the
reason why we still remember Penelope is that a poet made a song of her
distress:—

Agamemnon's spirit said:—'Thou hast felicity,
Man of guile, Laertes' son, Odysseus, to have won
A wife in virtue excellent, for understanding eminent,
The daughter of Ikarios, the good Penelope:
She remembered well her husband, and the fame shall never die
Of her steadfast loyalty—The gods shall make a song to grace
The fame of true Penelope, and mortal men shall sing her praise' (xxiv. 191).

Such are the subtle links which bind together in organic unity the several parts of a great poem.

Before the suitors Penelope speaks of her husband as 'the Man, famous throughout all Hellas,' without naming him. Is that disappointing? It is certainly reserved. But Telemachus, who now for the first time asserts himself and claims the man's place in the men's hall, names Odysseus; and the mother, 'storing in her heart her son's wise word,' goes back to her room and weeps 'for her dear husband.'

After that Telemachus talks with the suitors, and the hearer who has ears to hear will not be disappointed. 'My mother's suitors . . . the gods . . . the gods . . . Zeus . . . glorious Odysseus . . . glorious Odysseus.' He has learnt that language from Athena. So at last he goes to his room; Eurykleia waits on him, and all night he lies in his sheep-skin, not 'brooding on his good father' now, but 'planning'—so thrilled he is, so much his father's son—'planning the journey which Athena had suggested.'

At dawn Odysseus' dear son rose and dressed. He left his chamber, 'like a god in presence,' bade the heralds summon an assembly, and went thither, clothed in grace and beauty by Athena.

He sat in his father's place, and old Aiguptios, whose dear son went to Troy 'with god-like Odysseus,' asked, 'Who has summoned this meeting . . . a good man, I think: my blessing on him: may Zeus grant him his desires.' Telemachus rejoiced, and stood up with the sceptre in his hand to speak. He began with a word he would not have used of himself till Athena took his education in hand:—

'I am the Man . . . I have lost my good father, your king, who was kind as a father . . . my mother is beset by suitors. . . there is no Man here such as Odysseus was . . . the gods . . . Zeus . . . my good father Odysseus.'

The materials are all familiar from book I. The combination and effect are new.

The speech of Antinous is concerned with Penelope. Indeed it is the poet's presentation of his heroine as seen to be desirable by all her suitors. Odysseus and Laertes are woven into the pattern as subordinate strands, not stressed.

'Bold Telemachus . . . your dear mother, who is full of cunning, said to us, "Youths, suitors, since the glorious Odysseus is dead, give me time to make a winding-sheet for Laertes" . . . your mother . . . dowered with many gifts above all other ladies by Athena . . . none is like Penelope.'

Telemachus answered—'Mother . . . father . . . mother . . . one Man's substance . . . the gods . . . Zeus.'

Zeus sent the omen.

Halitherses warned them:—'Odysseus will not long be away . . . all that I prophesied, when he, the ingenious Odysseus, went to Troy, has been fulfilled.'

πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς is used here for the first time in the poem, and is stressed by position, since the omen and the interpretation mark the centre and the climax of the episode. This debate in the assembly has, on a

larger scale, a pattern similar to that of Athena's talk with Telemachus in book I. The simplest way, perhaps, of shewing the form is this:—

Telemachus : My good father . . . my good father Odysseus.

Antinous : Your dear mother . . . your mother . . . Penelope.

Telemachus : My mother . . . my father . . . my mother . . . one Man . . . Zeus.
Zeus sends the omen.

Halitherses : Odysseus . . . κείνῳ . . . πολὺμητις Odysseus.

Eurymachus : Odysseus . . . Telemachus . . . Telemachus . . . Telemachus.

Telemachus : My father . . . Zeus . . . my father.

And, as epilogue, the series (from Mentor and Leikritos):—

Odysseus the blameless . . . Odysseus the divine . . . Odysseus.

Odysseus of Ithaca . . . his wife . . . Odysseus the divine.

What is the upshot of the young man's protest? It is easy to say he has failed. Athena takes a different view. Depressed, Telemachus goes to the sea and prays. She comes to him in Mentor's shape and tells him:—

'If you have in you the spirit of a father such as He was . . . if you are indeed His offspring (καίου) and Penelope's . . . you will do well'.

'I am assured you will not prove a coward or a fool, because you have in you some tincture of the μήτις of Odysseus.'

The formula is πατρός οἷος κείνος . . . κείνου καὶ Πηνελοπείης . . . μήτις of Odysseus.

We see now why the epithet πολὺμητις was held in reserve so long by Homer, and was stressed in the pattern. It was no patch-work poet who prepared for this delightful climax by making his Athena say on her first visit, 'You will not lack fame if you are Penelope's son.'

After that, when Telemachus talked with the suitors, he said no word about his father. He spoke of himself and his own designs. Antinous found a new epithet for Odysseus—such is Homer's inexhaustible variety—πατρός ἀγαθοῦ, and one of the suitors said, 'Is he going to Ephyra for poison?' (cf. I. 258), and another, 'Perhaps, like his father, he will perish on the voyage.' It is a first hint of the coming plot against his life.

Telemachus withdraws to his father's thalamos to make his preparations with Eurykleia for the journey. In the pattern of the epithets there is a climax. For the first time Odysseus gets the epithet διογενής, first from his son, then echoed by the nurse. For the first time also the lad calls Penelope his 'Dear mother,' because he is leaving her without an explanation.

So the sun set, and the ship was ready, and Athena went to the house of 'divine Odysseus,' and the 'strong Telemachus' (ἱερὴ ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο), took command, and the crew obeyed 'the dear son of Odysseus' and they sailed, making libation to the gods, but most of all to Zeus' grey-eyed daughter.

At Pylos the appeal to Nestor's wisdom is framed by two great sacrifices, One to Poseidon, the hero's enemy, and the other to Athena, his friend. The whole episode is coloured by the homely piety of Nestor's court, and is contrasted both with the disordered Ithacan scene and with the lavish elegance of Helen's Sparta. At the outset Athena's method of encourage-

ment strikes the new note—'You have come to ask about your father . . . some things you will think of for yourself, and others a god will put into your mind. Because I do not think that you were born and reared without the favour of the gods.' That suits the colour of the rhapsody. At first, with a smile, she had said, 'If you are Penelope's son' . . . then, 'If you are Odysseus' son and hers' . . . now she tells him 'You were born and reared with heaven's favour.' So she leads the way, and he follows 'in the footprints of the goddess.'

His response to such encouragement is manifest in a new tone of confidence: 'I have come for news of my father, glorious Odysseus of the patient heart, who fought with you, they say, and sacked the city of the Trojans . . . κείνου . . . κείνου . . . tell me . . . if my father, good Odysseus, kept his promises to you at Troy.' To which Nestor, as the climax of a list of heroes, gives him this—'Your father, if you really are his son, the glorious Odysseus, vanquished all in guile . . . your way of talk reminds me of him . . . I and glorious Odysseus no way differed in assembly or in council . . . ' Then the story of the quarrel that arose about the homeward journey, and the difference at Tenedos and the parting from Odysseus (who went back to Agamemnon, loyal and pious as he was),

'Οδυσσεὺς ἀνάκτα δαίμονα ποικιλομήτην.

Except for the last epithet there is nothing new in the materials of this fine combination: but the combination itself is new, and is the most elaborate we have yet heard. That is the central figure of the speech, which runs on, garrulously, not without a purpose, till it culminates in a second list of heroes, ending, not, as we perhaps expect, with a new formula about Odysseus, but with Agamemnon and his son—'So good it is to leave a son surviving, since he took due vengeance for his father—and do you, my friend, be brave.'

The whole speech, in fact, repeats on a grander scale, and with more stress on the wisdom of Odysseus, Athena's formula from the first rhapsody—'Your father, glorious Odysseus—he will find a way . . . and you . . . have you not heard of glorious Orestes?'

The central passage of the dialogue contains Athena's call for faith in the gods. She gives the cue to Telemachus, still playing on his spirit, rousing him to ask about Orestes, not to brood upon his father. In full measure Nestor gives him what he needs, the tale of Menelaus and his homecoming, too late, because 'the glorious Orestes' had already done his work—then bids him visit Menelaus for himself.

No one who understands the elements of Homer's pattern-making can suppose that this is the last word. Odysseus was the first theme in this dialogue, and Homer brings him back into the pattern thus—At sunset, 'We must go,' said Athena, and Telemachus was for going too, but Nestor answered, 'While I live, while there are sons of mine to show guests hospitality, that Man's dear son shall never sleep on shipboard here.' Again Athena turned the old man's inspiration to her own good purpose—'I must go, but he shall stay. Give him a chariot and horses for his journey.' She has done her part. Telemachus is to travel without

Mentor. So she disappears, and Nestor takes his guest's hand and declares, 'My friend, I am assured you will not be unmanly or a coward, since the gods themselves are your escorts . . . even Athena, that great goddess, who among the Argives honoured your good father.' So to bed, and in the morning to Athena's feast and sacrifice, in which Telemachus, we notice, has two new brave titles, *μεγάθυμος*, *μεγαλήτωρ*. Then to Sparta with Peisistratus.

In Sparta, though his honourable titles still increase—he is 'Telemachus the hero' and is welcomed from the first as a young prince of the 'Zeus-nurtured' breed—Telemachus is abashed, first at the glamour of the scene, then at the talk of host and hostess, but above all at the glory of his father which that talk reveals. When this great gentleman and warrior, Menelaus, whose palace seems to the young Ithacan as wonderful as the imagined courts of the Olympian, declares that he would give his wealth to have his comrades back again, for whom he grieves, but most of all 'for one man, for Odysseus,' the lad is moved as never before. The formula of the short paragraph in which he weeps reflects his deep emotion, 'father . . . father . . . father.' Helen comes, and though her word calls for an answer, 'Do we know, Zeus-nurtured Menelaus, who our guests are . . . such a likeness . . . surely this must be Telemachus, great-hearted Odysseus' son,' he finds no words. Peisistratus answers for him, and the string of epithets runs on:—*κείνου*, *Ὀδυσῆι*, *κείνος*, *κείνου υἱὸς ἐτήτιμος*, *πατρός παῖς*, *Τηλεμάχῳ*, *φίλου ἀνέρος υἱόν* . . . *κείνον δύστηνον* . . . *ἀνόστιμον* . . . and all fall into depression, weeping with him, until Helen brings the drug, and charms us with her speech as well—her tale of great Odysseus' venture into Troy, a tale of daring overtrumped by Menelaus' story of the wooden horse, the crowning triumph of the man's invention. Here the series marks the climax *Ὀδυσῆος ταλασίφρονος*, *κάρτερος ἀνὴρ*, *Ὀδυσῆα* . . . *Ὀδυσῆος ταλασίφρονος*, *κάρτερος ἀνὴρ*, *δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς* . . .

Yet Telemachus is still depressed. 'All the more grievous, since this did not save him, no, though his heart was of iron. . . . Let us to bed.' So couches were prepared and the splendid son of Nestor and 'Telemachus the hero' went to rest.

The next day's talk fulfils the promise of the pattern, which we now know well enough to prophesy the sequence—yet it surpasses expectation. When the 'soldier Menelaus' comes to him 'like a god,' to ask his errand, Telemachus answers with the familiar formula, 'Father . . . mother . . . *κείνου* . . . my good father Odysseus.' Then the poet shows his strength. He heightens *κάρτερος* to *ἀνδρὸς κρατερόφρονος*, but that is not enough. He needs a new effect—*κρατεροῖο λέοντος*. The lion-simile is the great soldier's crowning tribute to his friend. Then the tale of Proteus holds us, and the story of the comrades lost in the return; Ajax at sea, Agamemnon, slain at home by his wife's treachery, but avenged by his son Orestes, and third 'Laertes' son,' who is alive, but far from home, 'ever weeping in Calypso's island.'

In Calypso's island, the great-hearted hero weeps for home and wife, refusing to be comforted. In Helen's Sparta, Helen's consort tells us, 'often I sit grieving—sometimes ease my heart with lamentation, then

again I stop—for surfeit soon comes. . . .’ In this place, because the hostess is the daughter of high Zeus, the host his son-in-law, grief comes and goes and touches the heart lightly—as it touches the hearts of the gods, who are their kinsmen. Commentators are baffled by the conduct of Telemachus, who says, when his host bids him stay ten days or twelve, ‘No, do not keep me long. My comrades are already fretting . . .’ then stays, after all, a month. They have not understood, perhaps, how drugs from Egypt and the company of mortals who are half immortal, and their talk, can hold a young man, even a young hero, for a time, from the high enterprise he hardly dares believe himself the man to compass. Telemachus says ‘I could stay a year with you, and sit and listen to your tales and never feel the longing for my home and parents . . . do not keep me . . . I must go.’ When Merry says *τοκῆων* is ‘used loosely, to express mother and grandsire,’ he gives Homer less than his due. Of course the young man stays, and every morning he will say, ‘Don’t keep me . . . I must go . . .’ until Athena calls him.

The refusal of the proffered gift, the chariot and horses, is in part a reminiscence of Athena’s precedent in Ithaca, in part a fresh touch of the spirit of Odysseus, growing in his son. So Menelaus smiles, and says, ‘Dear child’—it is much warmer than his earlier ‘hero Telemachus’—‘You come of a good breed, the way you talk!’ ‘So they talked, but the banquetters were arriving. . . .’ How could anyone suppose Telemachus would go just now?

We leave him, hesitating, and return to Ithaca.

For the first short suitor-scene in Ithaca the formula is ‘Odysseus . . . Telemachus . . . Odysseus.’ A great series follows, ‘Penelope, Penelope, Penelope’—three times in a short paragraph. The poet is pressing to the climax of his introduction, and has made his preparations so well that he can afford to lavish even on the suitors epithets which served before to glorify Odysseus and Telemachus. Eurymachus is *θεοειδής* now, and the suitors are *ἀγαυοί*. Odysseus is still *θεῖος*, and Telemachus is now *δαίφρων*. When Penelope talks with the servant Medon, she is very angry, not a gently submissive, melancholy woman. Medon tells her of her son’s departure and the suitors’ plot. She cannot speak for some time, and she weeps, but when she does speak, she controls herself until the servant goes.

Recite the passage IV. 703–710 aloud, and you will understand—if you have an ear for this kind of thing—the phrase which has so much shocked and puzzled commentators.

‘My son—what cause had he to go in ships that are the chariots of the sea?’

The stilted phrase reflects her effort to maintain control and keep her dignity.¹ The moment Medon goes, she flings herself to the ground and wails aloud, first for her husband then for her well-loved son. Here is the climax of the movement which began, ‘Tell, goddess of the man . . . his wife . . . god-like Odysseus’—

¹ The memory of this dramatic phrase adds greatly to the value of xiii. 88 ff.

'First I lost my lion-hearted husband, who was excellent,
A prince among the Danaans, in every virtue eminent,
Known to fame throughout all Hellas and in royal Argos known—
And now my well-beloved son Telemachus is gone. . . .'

'My lion-hearted husband. . . .' Now we know why Homer made that lion-simile, with which King Menelaus crowned his friend's praise. We have seen Odysseus as the Muse, the gods, his son, his comrades, think of him. His wife's words, like a song of praise and love, complete the pattern.

Penelope's prayer to Athena, the Hallelujah, and the suitors' infatuated comment make a centre-piece to this last movement: then the whole scheme is completed by the short scene of the plot in execution—the suitors' ship launched—and Penelope's dream. Fasting, refusing meat and drink, helpless and full of fears, she is also 'like a lion in the toils. . . .' Bérard thinks the image in bad taste, but Homer's Penelope is a lion's wife at bay.

Sleep comes, and with sleep the vision of her sister, 'Iphthime, daughter of great-hearted Ikarios': a brave name and a brave epithet. These are brave spirits. And again we hear the song of praise and love and grief for 'my good husband, lion-hearted, eminent,

A prince among the Danaans, in every virtue excellent,
Good, famous . . . and my well-loved child.'

Do you think the whole passage an interpolation? Do you think the repetition of the epithet *εὐθλόων* points to an interpolation within an interpolation? Then you haven't heard the music?

Well, the music dies away . . . *κείνον . . . οἷζυρόν . . . κείνον*. The vision leaves her, with her husband's fortune still unknown, and the suitors wait and watch for Telemachus.

The Prelude began with 'the resourceful Man' and ended with 'god-like Odysseus.' At the centre was 'his wife.'

The Divine Colloquy began with the reference to 'famous Orestes' and ended with Athena's promise to arouse Odysseus' son 'that he might have fame.' In its main structure Odysseus was the theme—first as 'wise but unfortunate'; then, when Zeus spoke, as 'divine . . . surpassing others in intelligence and sacrifices to the gods'; and thirdly as 'very wise' and 'of a brave and patient heart.'

The rhythm of the whole *Telemachia* was thus stated.

Thus in book I, the talk between Athena and Telemachus:—

Telemachus: 'that man whose bones, . . .' *Athena*: 'glorious Odysseus, so ingenious he will find a way. . . .'

Tel.: 'unfortunate . . . ' *Ath.*: 'you will not lack good fame, if you are indeed Penelope's son.'

Telemachus: 'a man . . . that man . . . ' *Athena*: 'Odysseus that great warrior and cunning archer.'

'Have you not heard of glorious Orestes?'

Then *Penelope*: 'my husband, known to fame . . . ' and *Telemachus*: 'glorious Odysseus, glorious Odysseus.'

'Wise and unfortunate' was the first theme in the Olympian Colloquy. It is the main theme of book II. Phrase after phrase gives the effect:—

ἐξ οὗ Ὀδυσσεύς διός ἔβη . . . πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνὴρ οἷος Ὀδυσσεύς ἔσκεν . . . εἰ μὴ πού τι πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐσθλὸς Ὀδ. | δυσμενέων κάκ' ἔρεξεν . . . ἔπειθ' ἦναι διός Ὀδ. . . Ὀδ. ὤλετο τῇλ' . . . οὕτως μέμνηται Ὀδυσσῆος θεοιο.

But in Athena's summing up, after Telemachus has faced his ordeal, the goddess says, 'You have something of your father's μένος ἤν' and of his μήτις: you will not be a fool or a coward, if you are his son and hers.'

The main theme of book III is the development of what Zeus said: 'Odysseus, eminent above all other men for intelligence and piety.' As we saw, it was appropriate that here Athena said οὐ γὰρ δῖω οὐ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε. That is confirmed, in the sequel, by the revelation through Nestor's insight, that Athena is with Telemachus, as she was with Odysseus at Troy. The tribute of Zeus to Odysseus' piety is confirmed by Nestor's tale of his return to Agamemnon, and the sacrifices to Poseidon and Athena appropriately frame the rhapsody.

What remains? Athena said, 'Very wise and of a brave and patient heart. . . .' In book IV the theme swells to the praise of Odysseus as the brave stout-hearted soldier, καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ . . . ταλασίφρονος . . . κρατερόφρονος. The two Trojan episodes are chosen for that purpose, and we reach a climax with the mention of the wooden horse, his greatest exploit, and again with the lion-simile.

But the last word, and the best, is for Penelope—

'My lion-hearted husband, eminent in every sort of excellence. . . .'

Consider once again. The lion-simile, applied to Penelope, links her courage with her husband's courage, and her tribute

παντοίῃς ἀρετῇσι κεκασμένον

sums up and crowns the whole series:—

ἄνδρα . . . ἀντιθέω Ὀδ. | δαίφρονι . . . δυσμόρῳ . . . θεοιο κτλ . . . πολύφρονι . . . ταλασίφρονι | διός . . . πολυμήχανος . . . ἀνδρὸς τοῦ κλέος εὐρύ . . . | πατέρ' ἐμὸς ἐσθλὸς Ὀδ. . . . πολύμητις . . . ἀμύμονος . . . διογενὴς | δίου Ὀδ. ταλασίφρονος . . . ἀνακτα δαίφρονα ποικιλομήτην . . . κυδαλίμην | μεγαλήτορος . . . κάτερος ἀνὴρ . . . κρατερόφρονος . . . 'like a lion' | πόσιν ἐσθλὸν θυμολίοντα, παντοίῃς ἀρετῇσι κεκασμένον.

The more we study this sequence, with the contexts, noting how old elements are made new by combination with fresh elements, and how the whole progression swells to a climax, the less we shall believe the patchwork theories. And the more we shall admire the genius which could make a series like this, and still keep in reserve for Book V this:—

Ὀ. θεοιο . . . ταλασίφρονος . . . μεγαλήτορ' ἄνδρα δίζυρῶτατον . . . μεγαλήτορα . . . κάμμορε . . . πολύτλας διός . . . θεοιο . . . διογενὴς Λαερτιάδῃ πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ.

Still the same poet weaves his pattern, heightens his effect, till 'glorious Odysseus' comes from the thicket to confront Nausicaa:—

'Like a hungry lion, bred
On the mountains, buffeted
By wind and weather . . . ' (VI. 130 ff.)

If you have learnt the method of this poet, you will probably also expect a lion-simile somewhere also in that greater moment of discovery, when the hero is revealed at home, and the suitors are slain. xxii. 402 ff. will confirm your expectations.

The *Telemachia* is Homer's introduction to the *Odyssey* of Homer. And the introduction is worthy of the poet and his theme.

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THE CONSTITUTION OF THERAMENES¹

THERE can be little doubt that, as Eduard Schwartz points out, the problem of the political sympathies of Thucydides can only be properly approached if it is remembered that his history in its present form was revised and possibly rewritten after the end of the Peloponnesian War. He was living in an atmosphere of *défaitisme*. Many of his contemporaries tended to glorify Sparta and her institutions, and to regard Athenian imperialism as a disastrous mistake. As a man of the older generation Thucydides felt it his duty to counteract this tendency by drawing attention to the real idealism which had inspired the *Machtpolitik* of the Periclean age, and by pointing to the benefits which the rule of Athens had conferred on the Greek world. The Preface to Book I may be regarded as a veiled apologia for the Athenian Empire, which had secured for Greece the freedom of intercourse which the writer holds to be essential alike for economic prosperity and for cultural development. Similarly the contrasts which Thucydides draws between the Athenian and the Spartan character, and the glorification of Athens which is the main subject of the Funeral Oration are inspired by the hope that the disillusioned Greeks of the early fourth century might come to realise that the ideals of Pericles and other Athenian imperialists had been not sordid but noble, and that Greece as a whole had derived benefits from the rule of Athens.

But the admiration of Thucydides for Pericles and the system which he represented must not be interpreted as approval of the ἐσχάτη δημοκρατία which happened to prevail in Athens during the Periclean age. Schwartz² is undoubtedly right in saying 'he valued Periclean democracy not because he admired the democratic principle, but because it seemed to be the form of government which had first been able to maintain the rule of Athens in Greece.' Probably the cynical language used by Alcibiades in his speech at Sparta³ represents a point of view which Thucydides to some extent shared. 'We accept democracy with all its absurdities because any violent constitutional change would endanger the security of the state so long as it is at war. While we are in power we can keep the radicals in order and obviate the worst features of democratic rule. In short, our ideal is a form of government which is λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή.' The only form of democracy which could win the approval of Thucydides was one which recognised the value of men of ability and provided them with opportunities for its exercise. Athenagoras, the Syracusan democrat, defends democracy on the ground that it alone found scope for the able, for the wealthy and for the ordinary

¹ This article is based on a paper read to the Oxford Philological Society on November 1st, 1935.

² *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*, p. 238.

³ *Thuc.* VI. 89.

man.⁴ For, like Aristotle, Thucydides held that the δύναμις κριτική of the humble citizen could make some contribution to the work of government.

Whatever Thucydides may have thought of Athenian democracy in the great days of Pericles it is clear from his summary of Athenian politics in ch. 65 of Book II that he was thoroughly disappointed with its working under his successors. He must therefore have regarded with some favour those who supported a change in Athenian institutions which would put an end to demagogy and render more efficient the conduct of the war. But he knew the Greek character too well to support an extreme oligarchy. 'This is,' he says 'what most of all destroys an oligarchy which has arisen out of a democracy. Every member of it from the beginning strives to be more powerful than his colleagues. Under a democracy when things go against a man's wishes he bears it more calmly because he is thwarted by men inferior to himself.'⁵ The scandalous rule of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty had made it clear that the members of the extreme oligarchical party could not safely be trusted with power.

These considerations give a first-rate importance to the statement that the constitution introduced by the moderates in the autumn of 411 after the fall of the Four Hundred was the best which Athens had ever enjoyed, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γ' ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες· μετρία γὰρ ἦ τε ἐξ τοῦς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύνκρσις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ πονηρῶν τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνένεγκε τὴν πόλιν.⁶ The last clause may refer primarily to the reconciliation with Alcibiades and others mentioned in the following sentence, but there can be no doubt that the constitutional settlement made at this time met with the approval of the historian.

It is very unfortunate that Thucydides gives so few details of the constitution of which he thinks so highly. He merely states that power was transferred from the Four Hundred to the Five Thousand who were qualified to bear arms and that pay for all offices was abolished, a programme practically identical with one which was put forward at the beginning of the oligarchic movement before the meeting at Colonus at which the Four Hundred were appointed.⁷ But some light is thrown on the ideas of the moderates by two passages in Book VIII, which are worth serious attention. The first occurs in ch. 92, where Thucydides is describing the revolt against the Four Hundred in the Piraeus and the steps which were taken to deal with it. The mutineers were assured that the Five Thousand would be appointed, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐν μέρει ἢ ἂν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις δοκῇ τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἐσεσθαι. The importance of this passage does not seem to have been adequately emphasised by many who have written on the subject. It makes clear that the moderates, at this stage, at least, did not propose to abolish the βουλή of Four Hundred, but merely wished to alter its

⁴ VI. 39. ἔπειτα φύλακας μὲν ἀρίστους εἶναι χρημάτων τοὺς πλουσίους, βουλευσάσθαι δ' ἂν βέλτιστα τοὺς ξυνοίους, κρίνειν δ' ἂν ἀκούσαντας ἀριστα τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη καὶ ξυνπαντα ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ

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ἰσομοιεῖν. Cf. Arist. Pol. III. 1281 b.

⁵ VIII. 89.

⁶ VIII. 97.

⁷ VIII. 65.

character. The βουλὴ which had ruled the state during the previous months had been appointed irregularly and shewed signs of wishing to make its authority permanent. When this authority was threatened it was hoped that the Athenians would accept a constitution which found room for an ἐκκλησία of which οἱ ὅπλοι παρόντες would be members and for a βουλὴ of Four Hundred elected by the qualified citizens presumably for one year only. The passage suggests that the rule of the Four Hundred and that of the Five Thousand were not mutually exclusive alternatives, and that the moderates aimed at a constitution in which both would play a part.

The other passage (ch. 86) is difficult to interpret, but seems to point in the same direction. The situation described is very similar, but here the people to be appeased are the Athenians in Samos. They are told that the revolutionaries had been inspired by the highest motives, τῶν τε πεντακισχιλίων ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μετέξουσιν. If this means that 'all in turn will be members of the Five Thousand,' it seems as if the oligarchs were prepared to abandon the property qualification which had been accepted by all sections of the party. This is so improbable that attempts have been made to put some other interpretation on the passage. Grote⁸ suggests that the genitive understood after μετέξουσιν is τῆς πόλεως, which occurs shortly before, and makes Thucydides repeat what he says in ch. 96—that all the Five Thousand would take their turn in rotation for the places now occupied by the Four Hundred. Busolt⁹ seems to take a similar view. 'Alle fünftausend werden der Reihe nach an der Leitung der Geschäfte teilnehmen.' The *Cambridge Ancient History*¹⁰ is content to say that the emissaries 'arrived with the model constitution in hand, to which they could refer for their contention that the government they represented was a government of the Five Thousand and not of the Four Hundred alone.' Those who hold that the constitution given in 'Ath. πολ. 30 had already been brought forward, try to find a reference to it in the obscure words of Thucydides. On the whole, it seems best not to lay much stress on a passage the interpretation of which is so uncertain. Probably much the same was said to the men at Samos as to the men at the Piraeus, that the Five Thousand would soon be a reality and that the character of the βουλὴ of Four Hundred would soon be transformed.

It would thus seem that support can be found in Thucydides for the view that the aim of the moderates was to create an assembly of about 5000 members and by its side a βουλὴ of 400, membership of which for a limited period would be open to all qualified citizens. Wilcken,¹¹ the most recent writer on this subject, thinks that this represents their aims at the Colonus Assembly. 'Gewiss haben auch die Gemässigten den Vierhundert ausserordentliche Kompetenzen geben wollen . . . aber neben ihnen sollten die Fünftausend . . . eine lebensfähige souveräne Volksversammlung bilden' (*op. cit.* 43). Whether they remained faithful throughout the year to this conception of the ideal constitution is a question on which most divergent opinions have been held. If only the narrative of Thucydides were before

⁸ VI. 282.

⁹ *Gr. Gesch.* III. 1499.

¹⁰ V. 335.

¹¹ *Sb. Berl.* 1935, 34 ff.

us it would be tempting to follow Grote in supposing that the constitution introduced in the autumn of 411 found room for a βουλή consisting of either 500¹² or 400 members, more democratically organised than the body of Four Hundred, whose power Thucydides definitely states to have come to an end.

But the problem has been rendered far more complicated by the discovery of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία. It seems to be generally agreed that the writer of this work, while he had at his disposal valuable material, possibly not accessible to Thucydides, has made bad use of it. It is necessary to distinguish sharply between statements for which there is no authority but that of the writer and those which are taken from documents which he very possibly misunderstood. While it is generally agreed that the two constitutional documents given in chapters 30 and 31 are worthy of serious study, probably no one could be found to assert that the connecting passages are free from serious errors. Even the warmest champions of the Ἀθ. πολ. cannot accept the strange and self-contradictory account of the method by which these proposals were carried. We are told that they were drafted by a body appointed by the Five Thousand, and submitted to τὸ πλῆθος on the proposal of Aristomachus. This occurred before the 14th of Thargelion, when the old βουλή was disbanded. The difficulties raised by this account are well known. If the Five Thousand were actually constituted and held a meeting for the transaction of business at the time mentioned, the whole narrative of Thucydides, confirmed in this point by the speech *Pro Polystrato*, becomes completely unintelligible. That this difficulty occurred even to the writer of the Ἀθ. πολ. is shewn by his use of the vague word πλῆθος and his statement that the Five Thousand λόγω μόνον ἡρέθησαν.

The commonest solution of the difficulty is to suppose that these two draft-constitutions were proposed either after the meeting at Colonus in order to give some shew of legality to the usurpation of the Four Hundred or at the meeting at Colonus itself. The former proposal was made by Eduard Meyer¹³ and seems to be accepted by Ferguson.¹⁴ But the objections brought against it by Busolt¹⁵ seem very strong. 'It has been supposed,' he says, 'that the Four Hundred, after their entrance into the Senate-house and before they were formally constituted, had these drafts prepared and accepted by a popular assembly in order to legalise their rule. But this conjecture contradicts both Thucydides and Aristotle. According to the former, the Four Hundred immediately after seizing office constituted themselves with all the usual formalities, while Aristotle makes the acceptance of the drafts precede their entrance into office. The provisional constitution (ch. 31) regards the organisation and entrance into office of the Four Hundred as still in the future. According to Thucydides the resolutions must have been passed in the assembly at Colonus, which was the last stage in the legislative activity of the oligarchs before

¹² Cf. the demand of Alcibiades (VIII. 86) διὰ τοὺς μέγας πεντακισχίλους οὐ κολῶσι δρχην, τοὺς μέγας τετρακισχίλους ἀπαλλάσσοντες ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάσαι τὴν βουλήν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον τοὺς πεντακισχίλους.

¹³ *Forschungen*, II. 434.

¹⁴ *CAH* V, 331.

¹⁵ *Gr. Staatskunde*, 76.

the appearance of the Four Hundred. If in the place of the non-existent constitutional committee we put another committee, the *συγγραφείς*, and suppose that they drafted the proposals on the principles laid down at Colonus, we must follow Aristotle in holding that there was a second assembly before the entrance into office of the Four Hundred. But neither in Thucydides' nor in Aristotle's account of the proceedings at Colonus is there any mention of general principles which had to be put into form for a second meeting. All the proposals were formally made, and became binding through their acceptance by the popular assembly.'

The mention of the otherwise unknown Aristomachus certainly suggests that the two constitutions are genuine and were at some date submitted to the *ἐκκλησία*. Busolt himself thinks that they were brought before the assembly at Colonus and accepted by it, and that this view is not inconsistent with Thucydides' brief account of the proceedings: he omitted the details because he regarded them as mere propaganda. The main objection to this suggestion is that, as is generally agreed, the account given by Thucydides of the method by which the Four Hundred were appointed is quite inconsistent with the language of the so-called provisional constitution. According to Thucydides five *πρόεδροι* were appointed, who selected 100 men, each of whom co-opted three others. On the other hand, the document in the 'Aθ. πολ. states that the Four Hundred were composed of 40 members of each tribe, chosen by their fellow tribesmen *ἐκ προκρίτων*. Busolt gets over the difficulty by supposing that *πρόκριτοι* were put forward by the representatives of the ten tribes present at the meeting, and that from them 400 were selected in the manner described by Thucydides. This suggestion enables us to explain how Polystratus, one of the Four Hundred, was *αἰρεθείς ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν*.¹⁶ His name was put forward by his fellow-tribesmen at the Colonus meeting, though he owed his place in the Four Hundred to selection by the *πρόεδροι* or one of the 95 others whom they selected.

A modification of the view of Busolt has recently been put forward by Wilcken.¹⁷ He holds that the reason why the *συγγραφείς* who summoned the Colonus meeting were (as Thucydides¹⁸ emphatically states) content merely to propose the suspension of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was that the oligarchs were fundamentally divided in opinion. The views of the moderates were first put forward in two drafts ('Aθ. πολ. 30, 31). They wished in the first instance to create a *βουλή* of 400 members which would co-exist with an *ἐκκλησία* of 5000. The powers of this *βουλή* (given in ch. 31) are strictly limited. It is bound to observe any laws which may be passed by the *ἐκκλησία*, though it is authorised to elect the magistrates and decide upon the form of their oath. The sentence which has been taken as conferring dictatorial power on the Four Hundred is read as follows: *τούτους δὲ τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καταστήσαι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅρκου ὄντινα χρῆ ὁμοσαι [γράψαι] περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν ἢ ἂν ἡγῶνται συμφέρειν*. The omission of one word deprives this body of

¹⁶ [Lykias] xv. 2.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 35-47.

¹⁸ VIII. 67.

all claim to omnipotence, and makes the sentence consistent with the following one which binds the βουλή to observe the laws. But according to Wilcken, this form of constitution was to be only provisional, and the ultimate ideal of the moderates is expressed in ch. 30. The Four Hundred would disappear and the Five Thousand be divided into four βουλαι which would govern the state in turn without an ἐκκλησία.

Whatever may have been the fate of these proposals at the Colonus meeting, Wilcken holds that they were 'torpedoed' by an amendment moved by Pisander and correctly given by Thucydides. A council of 400 was constituted on the spot, and invested with 'autocratic' powers to act as a provisional government until such time as it considered it desirable to convoke the Five Thousand. The 'Four Hundred' which actually came into existence differed from the body suggested by the moderates both in its method of appointment and in the extent of its powers.

Some such reconstruction of the procedure at Colonus might be accepted if it were not for the wording of the constitution which Aristotle describes as provisional, but which contains expressions which make it clear that it was intended to remain in force at least for several years. It stipulates, for instance, that only the στρατηγοί and the members of the βουλή may remain in office for more than one year. The method of electing the στρατηγοί for τὸν εἰσιόντα ἔνιαυτὸν is laid down, and then we are told τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν αἵρεσιν ποιέσθαι τούτων τὴν βουλὴν κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα. Prof. Ferguson¹⁹ says that at the Colonus meeting the Four Hundred were granted powers which were to last till the crisis was past, 'a matter of a couple of years at least.' The language of 'Αθ. πολ. 31 makes it quite impossible to identify it with the proposal of Pisander which led to the state of things described by Thucydides, and renders it difficult to accept the solution proposed by Wilcken. If it was the ultimate aim of the moderates to establish the constitution given in 'Αθ. πολ. 30, it is unlikely that they were prepared to wait for an indefinite number of years. Whatever the writer of the 'Αθ. πολ. may say, it is difficult to regard the document given in chap. 31 as a 'provisional' constitution.

In view of these considerations, it seems extremely unlikely that the two constitutions which we have been considering were drafted and submitted to the Athenian assembly at any date prior to the fall of the Four Hundred. It has been well said²⁰ that 'the elimination of the Five Thousand as an effective factor in the revolution carries with it the disappearance of the two constitutions which Aristotle represents as the formal basis of the usurpers' power.' Certainly neither of them can be taken as representing the views of the extremists, who triumphed in the early days of the revolution. This is generally admitted to be true of the document in 'Αθ. πολ. 30. As regards the 'provisional constitution,' even if we do not accept the reading of § 1 suggested by Wilcken, it is clear that the size of the electorate would have prevented the erection of a body acceptable to Pisander and his colleagues. Even the Four Hundred appointed at Colonus in the way described by Thucydides contained

¹⁹ *CAH* V. 331.

²⁰ Cary in *JHS* 1913, 6.

members who were not extreme oligarchs and who were active later under the rule of the Five Thousand.²¹ Finally, as Lenschau²² has suggested, it is at any rate unlikely that moderate proposals which were rejected at the Colonus meeting would be preserved in the Athenian archives.

What, then, is the best solution of the difficulty? The objections to the view that the two forms of constitution given in the 'Αθ. πολ. were accepted by the ἐκκλησία before the fall of the Four Hundred are so cogent that much can be said for placing them in the period described by Thucydides in VIII. 97, when the moderates were powerful and when meetings were held in the Pnyx at which νομοθέται were appointed to draw up a satisfactory constitution. At this time all the theorists in Athens had a chance of being heard, and it is unlikely that the proposals which happen to survive were the only ones which were brought before the people.

This view, which was suggested by Beloch in the first edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* and worked out in detail in the second edition published in 1916,²³ has been received with singularly little favour. The only writer who seems to accept it in its entirety is Lenschau,²⁴ though Cary²⁵ and Ehrenberg²⁶ give it a certain amount of support. It does not appeal to Busolt, Ferguson or Wilcken, who, while prepared to find the clue to the 'constitution of Theramenes' in ch. 30 of the 'Αθ. πολ., refuse to connect ch. 31 in any way with the events which followed the downfall of the Four Hundred. What is original in Beloch's view is that he considers the writer of the 'Αθ. πολ. to be wrong in distinguishing the two constitutions as 'definitive' and 'provisional.' According to him they are not alternatives, but complete each other. 'Es handelt sich nicht um zwei Verfassungen die eine für die Zukunft, die andere für die Gegenwart, sondern um zwei Volksbeschlüsse die einander ergänzen.' On this theory in spite of the bad behaviour of the Four Hundred room was found in the 'constitution of Theramenes' for a βουλή of 400 members, the number associated with the πατριος πολιτεία of pre-Kleisthenic days and with the 'constitution of Draco' ('Αθ. πολ. 4), which was probably invented at this period. It is supposed that when they came into power in the autumn of 411 the moderates carried out the programme given in Thuc. VIII. 93, brought the Five Thousand into existence as an ἐκκλησία and transformed the Four Hundred from a δυναστεία into a βουλή of the normal type. In his note on 'Αθ. πολ. 30. 3 (βουλὰς δὲ ποιῆσαι τέτταρας . . . καὶ τούτων τὸ λαχὼν μέρος βουλευεῖν) Sandys suggests that there were four councils of 400 each, each holding office for one year. It is certainly illegitimate to import the number 400 into ch. 30 without giving reasons for doing so, but some such view as that of Sandys can be defended if reference is made to Thuc. VIII. 93 or if we follow Beloch in supposing that ch. 31 may be used in the interpretation of ch. 30.

As has been already said, no one who read the so-called provisional constitution of ch. 31 without knowing that it had been described as

²¹ W. S. Ferguson in *Mélanges Götze*, I. 360 f.

²² *RhMus* 68, 211 f.

²³ II. 311 f.

²⁴ *RhMus* 68, 202 f.; cf. *Bursians Jahrb.* 218, III. 59.

²⁵ *JHS* 1913, 14 ff.

²⁶ *Hermes*, 57, 613 f.

provisional would imagine that it was not intended to remain in force indefinitely. The chapter seems to describe the organisation of an annually changing βουλή of 400 members, chosen for a year by some form of ἐκκλησία out of candidates put forward by the tribes, who are eligible for re-election. It is not a democratic body in so far as its members are not chosen by lot and in so far as the ἐκκλησία which elects it is subject to a property qualification. Though it possesses the unusual privilege of electing the magistrates, it is not a narrow clique like the Four Hundred of Thucydides who were selected by a packed meeting of the Assembly for a definite purpose.

Most of the writers who reject Beloch's view or fail to notice it wish to find the constitution which earned the praise of Thucydides in ch. 30 of the Ἀθ. πολ. The usual interpretation of this admittedly obscure document is given as follows by Ferguson.²⁷ 'The whole freeborn male population remained citizens, but of them only those capable of bearing arms had active rights, which they exercised on reaching their thirtieth year as "councillors" without pay. To enable so large a body to transact business (it had to act as Council and Assembly in one), it was divided into four councils, each of which was to serve with plenary power for a year at a time in an order determined by lot.' According to Busolt, the qualified citizens were to be divided into 'vier möglichst gleich Ratskörperschaften.' 'Die vier Körperschaften werden in einer durch das Los zu bestimmenden Reihenfolge je für ein Jahr den regierenden Rat bilden.'²⁸

It would, of course, be presumptuous to deny that this is a possible or even a probable interpretation of an obscure document, but the result is so strange that it is legitimate to ask whether another interpretation is not possible. Is it impossible to interpret the words βουλευεῖν μὲν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας as meaning that a βουλή (of unspecified size) is to be created to hold office for a year and to consist of men over 30 years of age? Later on there is a provision for a division of this βουλή into four λήξεις, which will hold office in turn. If this interpretation is possible, the word βουλή can be used in the familiar sense of a comparatively small body, holding office for a limited time and preparing business for an Assembly of citizens. A sharp distinction is drawn in ch. 30 between those magistrates who are chosen ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ βουλευόντων and those who are κληρωτοὶ καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς. If *all* qualified citizens could be described as 'councillors' as Ferguson says, this language would be misleading. Surely it is better to suppose that citizens were either members of the βουλή or not. Again, it is difficult to believe that the everyday work of government could be entrusted to a body consisting of a quarter of the ὅπλα παρέχόμενοι, who, if Polystratus had had his way, would have numbered 9000. Was it possible to expect about 2000 people to meet for the transaction of public business at least every fifth day without payment? All the ὅπλα παρέχόμενοι were not gentlemen of leisure: most of them, to say nothing of their military duties, must have had some business to attend to.

²⁷ CAH V. 398.

²⁸ Gr. Staatskunde, 906.

Another objection may be raised to the view that the definitive constitution of 'Αθ. πολ. 30, as interpreted by Prof. Ferguson, was actually brought into existence in the autumn of 411. It is supposed that in any given year three-quarters of the citizen body were to take no part in public life, and that therefore, as all the important magistrates were drawn from the βουλή in office, no one could hold the στρατηγία for a second time until three years had elapsed. It is difficult to believe that a constitution containing this provision would have obtained the approval of Thucydides. One of the most remarkable and valuable features of the democratic constitution had been that re-election to the στρατηγία was always possible, and it seems very unlikely that at a critical stage in the war the Athenians would have deprived themselves of the right to re-elect an able man. The Pseudo-Xenophon²⁹ states that they distinguished sharply between posts which called for special qualifications and those which did not, and that the number of candidates for the former was always limited.

It is often stated that though the constitution of 'Αθ. πολ. 30, as usually interpreted, has some strange features, it was modelled on a form of government which had worked satisfactorily in Boeotia. But this statement will not stand close investigation. Both Thucydides³⁰ and the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia³¹ make clear that the 'four councils' of the Boeotian cities were sections of a single body which in turn acted in a probouleutic capacity. τούτων δὲ τῶν βουλῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστη προκαθήμενη καὶ προβουλευούσα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσέφερεν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς, ὅτι δ' ἔδοξεν ἐν ἀπάσαις τοῦτο κύριον ἐγίνετο. Nothing was determined until the proposal had been brought before all four sections. Though the Boeotians were not famous for their quickness of mind, it is incredible that they should have allowed four years to elapse before coming to a decision. This βουλαὶ did not, like the supposed βουλαὶ of the 'constitution of Theramenes,' hold office for a year and then make way for another. They were more like the ten prytanies of the Athenian democratic βουλή which dealt with current business and prepared the agenda for a meeting of the full Council.

Such considerations seem to give some justification for the uncomplimentary language which was applied to the 'definitive constitution' when it was first discovered. It was described by well-known scholars as a 'lebensunfähiges Ding,' a 'volle Utopie,' and a 'totgeborenes Kind.' It certainly seems to the present writer that Wilcken and Ferguson have not succeeded in proving that it was the constitution which made such a strong appeal to Thucydides. What that constitution was it is more difficult to say. If, as Wilcken himself thinks, the object of the moderates at the time of the Colonus assembly was to introduce a form of government which found room both for a βουλή of 400 and an ἐκκλησία of 5000, it seems probable that in the autumn, when they had a free hand, they would attempt to draft a constitution on those lines. The language

²⁹ [Xen.] 'Αθ. πολ. I. 3. γινώσκω γὰρ ὁ ἕκαστος ὅτι πλείω ἀπολείπειν ἐν τῇ μὴ αὐτὸς ἀρχεῖν ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς διατεταγμένους ἀρχεῖν.

³⁰ V. 38.

³¹ *Hell. Ox.* XI.

of Thucydides³² (τοὺς τετρακοσίους καταπαύσαντες τοῖς πεντακισχίλοις ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ πράγματα παραδοῦναι) certainly makes it a little difficult to believe that a second βουλή of 400 was immediately set up. But such a suggestion is not impossible. A few years later we are told³³ that the Athenians καταλύσαντες τοὺς δέκα τοὺς πρώτους αἰρεθέντας ἄλλους εἶλοντο δέκα τοὺς βελτίστους εἶναι δοκοῦντας. Wilcken is certainly unduly dogmatic when he says, 'diese Verfassung der Vierhundert kann nur einmal nur auf dem Kolonos gegeben sein.' The decree of the year 410-19 preserved by Andocides³⁴ shews that the βουλή of the 'constitution of Theramenes' cannot have contained 500 members. The champions of the πατριος πολιτεία must have wished to retain the traditional number four hundred as long as possible.

That the βουλή which played a prominent part in the period of the Five Thousand was not only differently constituted from the democratic βουλή but possessed more extensive powers has been established by Prof. Ferguson³⁵ in his study of the two documents which seem to belong to that period—the decree in honour of Pythophanes and the decree of the Council concerning the prosecution of Antiphon and others.³⁶ But the evidence from this source, valuable as it is, is insufficient to justify the view that the strange constitution of 'Αθ. πολ. 30 was actually brought into existence.

In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to come to more than tentative conclusions on the subject which has been considered. It is more than doubtful whether Beloch is right in holding that the 'constitution of Theramenes' can be reconstructed by combining the evidence of chapters 30 and 31 of the 'Αθ. πολ. But his suggestion that ch. 31 no less than ch. 30 expresses the views of the moderates is worthy of serious consideration. That the constitution of ch. 30 as interpreted by Ferguson and Wilcken would have seemed to Thucydides, who had taken an active part in public life, to be an ideal blend of democracy and oligarchy, is, to say no more, extremely improbable.

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NOTE.—It is easier to accept the view of Beloch that the constitutions of 'Αθ. πολ. 30 and 31 supplement each other and are not alternatives than to follow him in supposing that together they provide a clue to the Constitution of Theramenes. If after the fall of the Four Hundred in the autumn of 411 another βουλή of the same number had been constituted, it is strange that the speech Pro Polystrato, which was delivered after the restoration of the democracy (§ 17), uses the term 'Four Hundred' without any suggestion that it was ambiguous.³⁷ Possibly the 'Therameanean' βουλή avoided the unpopular name, although it actually contained 400 members. If this solution of the difficulty be rejected, it is possible to hold, as Mr. Cary has suggested to me, that the constitution of 'Αθ. πολ. 30-1 was brought before some form of assembly shortly before the fall of the Four Hundred and that its obscurity is due to the fact that it was 'drafted by desperate men in a blazing hurry.'

³² VIII. 97.

³³ 'Αθ. πολ. 38. 3.

³⁴ *De Myst.* 96. ἀρχὴ χρόνος τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἡ βουλή οἱ πεντακισίοι οἱ λαχόντες τῷ νόμῳ.

³⁵ *CJ Phil* XXI. i. 72-5; cf. *Mélanges Götze*, I. 349. f.

³⁶ *IG* I². 297.

³⁷ I owe this point to Mr. Wade-Gery.

A TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGUS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

[PLATES I-IV.]

Miss W. LAMB has kindly asked me to publish the terracotta sarcophagus in Cambridge, which comes from Rhodes.¹ Fig. 1 explains the system of reference to the various parts of the face of the typical Clazomenian

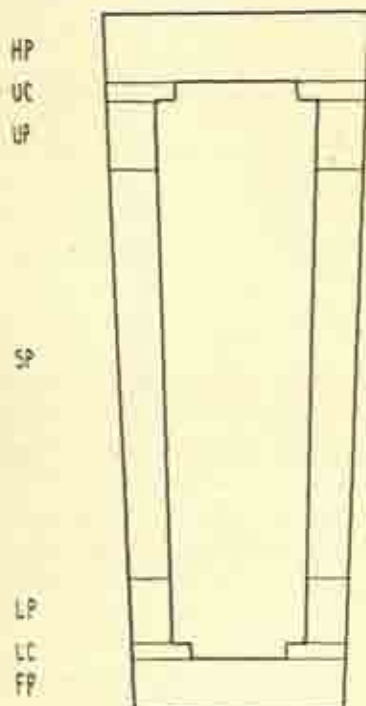


FIG. 1.—KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS FOR FACE OF SARCOPHAGUS: HEADPIECE, *HP*; UPPER CORNER STRIP, *UC*; UPPER PANEL, *UP*; SIDEPiece, *SP*; LOWER PANEL, *LP*; LOWER CORNER STRIP, *LC*; FOOTPIECE, *FP*.

sarcophagus. Unless it is otherwise stated, figures and heads of men and animals face towards the centre of the sarcophagus.

The sarcophagi listed below consist of five found in Rhodes² and presumed to be of local manufacture, and of three probably from Clazomenae which are loosely related.

A. Rhodian Group.

1. Cambridge. Length 1.93 m.; width, head 0.65 m., foot 0.56 m. *HP*, bracket-pattern: panther, palmette complex, panther. *UC*, double meander. *UP*, *L* bearded

¹ For information and for photographs reproduced here I should like to thank the authorities of the Fitzwilliam Museum, the British Museum and the Rijksmuseum at Leyden, Dr. R. Heidenreich and Mr. E. A. Lane. To Professor T. B. L. Webster I am

particularly grateful for help and criticism; to Dr. L. Laurenzi for his kindness to me in Rhodes.

² Another is mentioned as coming from Rhodes, *BCH* 1913, 416, n. 1. Pfuhl's three sarcophagi from Rhodes (*Muz. L.* 165) are his and nos. 1 and 2.

helmeted head, *r.* beardless helmeted head;² between bands of broken meander. *SP*, cable and palmette. *LP*, St. Andrew's Cross; between broad bands. *LC*, double wavy line. *FP*, enclosed palmettes. *Edges*, section as Fig. 2: *O*, undecorated; *I*, S-shaped blobs. From Rhodes. PLATE I.

2. British Museum 63.3-30.2. Length 1.96 m.: width, head 0.64 m., foot 0.58 m. *HP*, alternate billets: panther, bull, panther. *UC*, double meander; *I* separate members, *r.* continuous. *UP*, bearded helmeted head, that on right shewing top of shield; above, broad band; below, broken meander. *SP*, cable and palmette. *LP*, St. Andrew's Cross; between broad bands. *LC*, double wavy line. *FP*, two lions, facing outwards. *Edges*, as no. 1. The panther on the left (*HP*) has its tongue out: on the right the surface is damaged. From Camiros.³ Murray, *Terracotta Sarcophagi*, pl. 8 (some details inaccurate). Salzmänn, *Nécropole de Camiros*, pl. 1, 1-2: Zervos, *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse*, figs. 53 and 56 (poor sketches). PLATE II.

3. Rhodes 10554. Length 1.94 m.: width, head 0.64 m., foot 0.56 m. *HP*, lion *I*, palmette cross, lion *r.* *UC*, meander. *UP*, head, facing outwards; above, broken meander; below, broad band. *SP*, cable and palmette. *LP*, St. Andrew's Cross; between broad bands. *LC*, double wavy line. *FP*, lion *I*, lion *r.* *Edges*, as no. 1. *Lid*, undecorated and with a low gable: it is made in two pieces. The surface is very badly worn and the decoration very uncertain to make out, in particular for the panel heads and the animals, which I think are lions rather than panthers. From Ialysos. *Clara Rhodos* iii. grave CCLII, figs. 256 (of shape) and 257 (of decoration—an imaginative drawing).

4. Rhodes. *HP*, sphinx *I*, palmette cross (as on no. 3), sphinx *r.*—the heads of the sphinxes are turned back and the further wing indicated in outline. *UC*, meander. *UP*, *I*, head of youth, unhelmeted, *r.* St. Andrew's Cross; between broad bands. *SP*, cable and palmette. *LP*, St. Andrew's Cross; between broad bands. *LC*, double wavy line. *FP*, lion *I*, lion *r.* *Edges*, as no. 1. *Lid*, as that of no. 3, but in one piece.

5. Rhodes, Dafni grave 9. *HP*, volute and palmette complex. *UC*, meander. *UP*, spiral and palmettes. *SP*, cable and palmette. *LP*, St. Andrew's Cross; between broad bands; below, meander. *FP*, vertical zigzags. *Edges*, section as fig. 2: no decoration of inner edge. From Dafni, Ialysos. To be published in *Clara Rhodos* viii.

Nos. 1 and 2 are certainly by the same hand and about contemporary; this is clear from the panthers and the panel heads. Nos. 3 and 4 seem to go together. Whether all four are by the same painter might be decided by a comparison of the lions. The poorer ornamentation of no. 5 probably does not allow a certain attribution. The common features, which justify this grouping, are the absence of applied colours, the proportions of the sarcophagus, the shape and decoration of the edge, the economy and distribution of the decoration of the face, and certain peculiar motives—the St. Andrew's Cross, broad bands, double wavy lines, S-shaped blobs.

Technique. No purple or white is used. For the rest there seems no obvious distinction from other Clazomenian sarcophagi.

Proportions. There is a slight taper towards the foot. The width of the headpiece is about one third of the length. Generally these sarcophagi are smaller, narrower and more nearly rectangular than the average piece.

Edge. The section is given in fig. 2. The outside is undecorated, the inside decorated with S-shaped blobs. The normal Clazomenian sarcophagus, on the other hand, has a strongly articulated profile with elaborate decoration of the edges.

² The cheek-pieces are up. The lines across the chest represent folds of drapery coming across from the shoulder.

³ This provenance seems now to be accepted: see Kjellberg, *Jdl* 1926, 54, n. 5.

Decoration. The fauna are the panther (1, 2); the lion (2, 3, 4); the bull (2); the sphinx (4). Both horns of the bull are drawn; and, as frequently on Clazomenian sarcophagi, the further wing of the sphinx is outlined behind the nearer. The panthers of nos. 1 and 2 are very similar: they are related to the spotty-faced type of some fifth-century sarcophagi from Clazomenae.

The vegetable and abstract ornaments are all simple and easily drawn. The St. Andrew's Cross on all is the most distinctive, and outside this group seems to occur only on the sarcophagi listed below as nos. 6 and 7. It is useless to search for a derivation: perhaps one may compare the patterns of some 'Metopen-mäander'⁵ or the decoration at the corners of the child's sarcophagus, Louvre CA. 1025.⁶ On the two sarcophagi not from Rhodes, nos. 6 and 7, the diagonal lines are doubled. The spirals

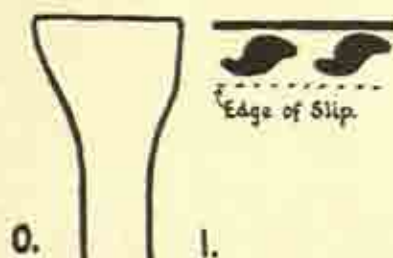


FIG. 2.—SECTION OF SIDE AND DECORATION OF THE EDGES OF NO. 1.
(Outside, 0; Inside, 1.)

and palmettes of no. 5 are simpler in detail than those of nos. 6 and 7: a similar ornament is found on another sarcophagus in Leyden. These and human heads are the only motives in the panels, which are bounded by broad bands, as on no. 8, or by broken meanders, a favourite ornament of Clazomenian sarcophagi. The corner strips are filled with the double meander or with double wavy lines. These wavy lines are found on no. 8 also: the nearest parallel from the other sarcophagi is the decoration, consisting of a single wavy line, of the sides of children's sarcophagi and among adults' sarcophagi of that from Pitane in Istanbul and of one in Leyden.⁷ The plain type of double meander is used only in the corner strip of the least elaborate pieces from Clazomenae. Large volute and palmette patterns sometimes replace more laborious figure decoration. On no. 1 the central palmette has been filled in, but the scalloped edges betray its origin. Elsewhere the volutes spring alternately on either side of the stem, as in Fikellura. Compare Dresden 1643 (LC)⁸ and Brussels A 1988 (SP centre), where also the central palmette is filled in. The central ornament of the headpiece of no. 7 is constructed on a similar scheme.

These five sarcophagi form a tolerably distinct group. Kjellberg writes of no. 2—and it is fair to extend his criticism to the whole group—'die

⁵ E.g. on Munich 7540 (SP: *Jdl* 1905, 189, fig. 1; *JHS* 1930, 81, fig. 1) and on a sarcophagus of similar shape in Leyden (HP).

⁶ *BCH* 1910, pl. 11, 1.

⁷ That referred to in n. 5.

⁸ *Jdl* 1932, 3, fig. 1.

laxe Formgebung der Tiere und die entarteten milesischen Füllornamente verleihen seinen Malereien ein stilloses und durchaus unklazomenisches Gepräge.⁹ This is not wholly true. The construction of the animals and the variety and use of ornaments are less free and elaborate than generally among the sarcophagi that come from Clazomenae. But though the formula is more rigid, the Rhodian painter, or painters, has a very definite style: the effect is more sober, but also more harmonious than that of most Clazomenian sarcophagi. And the filling ornament can be paralleled on the orthodox sarcophagi. The painter of nos. 1 and 2 was working in the Clazomenian tradition; but the finely decorative heads of his panels shew that his deviations from that tradition are not necessarily due to incompetence.

B. Related Clazomenian Sarcophagi.

Three sarcophagi probably from Clazomenae seem to have connections with this group. They all stand rather apart from the main Clazomenian styles and are not closely related to each other. Most of the characteristics of the Rhodian group appear on them—the proportions are similar, and the section and decoration of the edge;¹⁰ among the ornaments appear the palmette decoration of the footpiece, the St. Andrew's Cross, the double wavy lines, the broad bands and the general scheme of decoration. The details of the animals seem to offer no connection; but the heads of the panels of no. 8 have resemblances to that of no. 4. These three pieces perhaps represent the sources from which the Rhodian style chiefly drew.

6. British Museum 1900.10-29.1. Length 1.92 m.; width, head 0.69 m., foot 0.56 m. *HP*, lion, sphinx seated with two bodies and one head,¹¹ lion. *UC*, double meander. *UP*, St. Andrew's Cross; between bands of broken meander. *SP*, cable and palmette. *LP*, spiral and palmettes; between bands of broken meander. *LC*, open cable. *FP*, volute and palmette complex. *Edges*, *J*, meander. From Clazomenae.

7. Leyden I. 1902/1.19. Length 1.97 m.; width, head 0.63 m., foot 0.53 m. *HP*, band of billet and four; sphinx, volute and palmette complex, sphinx. *UC*, double meander. *UP*, St. Andrew's Cross; between bands of broken meander. *SP*, cable and palmette. *LP*, spiral and palmettes; between bands of broken meander. *LC*, double meander. *FP*, vertical zigzags. *Edges*, as no. 1. Probably from Clazomenae. PLATE III.

8. Leipzig. *HP*, lion *l.*, palmette springing from small volutes, lion *r.* *UC*, double wavy line. *UP*, head of youth; between broad bands. *SP*, chevrons. *LP*, palmette springing from small volutes; between broad bands. *LC*, double wavy lines (?). *FP*, perhaps enclosed palmettes(?). *Edges*, undecorated. From Clazomenae, presumably. *BCH* 1913, 387, no. 6, pl. 16 (drawn from a poor photograph of the fragments before they were properly cleaned and made up). PLATE IV.

Chronology. The heads in the panels of some of these sarcophagi should be compared to Attic red-figure painting, by which they must be strongly

⁹ *Jdl* 1926, 54, n. 5.

¹⁰ Not so on no. 6. Perhaps the S-shaped blobs occur also on a sarcophagus once in the Evangelical School, Smyrna (Dugaa, *BCH* 1910, 475-6, no. 5).

¹¹ For the two-bodied sphinx compare a fragmentary sarcophagus in Kiel (*UP*: *Auktionskatalog Helling*, 1910, no. 352).

influenced. Comparison can only be general, since the larger scale of the drawings on the sarcophagi encourages a greater elaboration of details—on no. 1, for example, the decorative curves of eyebrow, eye and nostril and the lines of the mouth. Nor do we know enough of East Greek figure styles of the early fifth century. If it is often difficult in Attic red-figure to detect archaism, on the sarcophagi the difficulty is likely to be much greater. For nos. 1 and 2 the best parallels seem to be in the earlier works of the Pan and the Berlin painters. These two sarcophagi should be dated early in the second quarter of the fifth century. The heads on no. 8 shew certain differences between themselves: they also recall Attic of the end of the first quarter of the century. The head on no. 4 is clumsily drawn, but stands fairly close to the right-hand head of no. 8. It is probably about contemporary, perhaps a little earlier. For no. 3 I have no details. It seems probable, then, that the three Rhodian pieces, nos. 1, 2, and 4, belong about to the beginning of the second quarter of the fifth century; and so also does the Clazomenian, no. 8.

The elements of the decoration of Clazomenian sarcophagi that recall 'Rhodian' vase-painting give little help for dating. The recurrence in the last third of the sixth century of motives and types apparently neglected since late and even middle 'Rhodian'¹² is surprising, but must be accepted. Embroidery seems to be the only possible medium of survival. For this group the internal evidence for dating is the panel heads, and to a very limited extent the patterns constructed of volutes and palmettes. Rumpf is certainly right about the general dating of Clazomenian sarcophagi and their relation to Attic.¹³ The painters of the sarcophagi borrow from Attic: there is no trace of any debt of Attic artists to them. The panel heads suggest that nos. 1 and 2 and no. 8 should be dated about 475 or slightly later;¹⁴ no. 4 perhaps rather before that date. No. 3 probably goes with them. No. 5 contained an Attic lekythos by the Aeschines painter of about 470–460:¹⁵ the sarcophagus therefore can hardly be earlier. Nos. 6 and 7 may be somewhere about 480–470, if their relation to the Rhodian group can be considered close enough.

Prothesis. It seems usually to be supposed from the flattening of the outer edge at the foot that most Clazomenian sarcophagi were stood vertically during the prothesis. On these sarcophagi I do not think that the face projects less at the foot than at the sides and head; but anyhow the projection is small enough to let the sarcophagus stand on end. It is a reasonable inference from this flattening of the foot that such sarcophagi were meant at some time to stand upright on their ends. It certainly was not so in the grave; and it seems therefore to have been generally assumed that the occasion was the prothesis, in imitation of Egyptian practice.¹⁶ This would be a remarkable divergence from normal Greek

¹² These terms are used as in *BSA* xxxiv. 2, n. 1.

¹³ *Jdl* 1933, 55–69, especially 63–68.

¹⁴ Cf. Kjellberg, *Jdl* 1946, 54, n. 5: "kaum vor 480."

¹⁵ I am indebted to Professor J. D. Beazley for this attribution and dating.

¹⁶ First suggested, apparently, by Meurer, *Jdl* 1902, 65–68. So also Van Hoorn, *de Vita atque Cultu Patrum*, 95–96; Pfuhl, *MaZ* 1. 166 ('Ägyptizismus . . . erschreckend ungrizisch!'); Kjellberg, *Jdl* 1926, 52–53—the shape with flattened foot seems to be the criterion for his Egyptianising group B.

custom; nor have we any other evidence for it. Zschietzschmann gives a long list of the representations of the prothesis in early Greek art,¹⁷ and the corpse always lies flat on its back. Admittedly there is only one East Greek example, the relief of a Milesian from the grave of King S'ahure;¹⁸ but the position of the corpse would more easily support the introduction of the Greek practice into Egypt. Nor is burial in sarcophagi a peculiarly Clazomenian custom. There are many sixth-century sarcophagi, coarse and undecorated, from Rhodes, Samos and Lesbos with and without the projecting face; and it has never been suggested that these were set up on end during the prothesis. And some Clazomenian sarcophagi, contemporary with sarcophagi with the flattened foot¹⁹—for example, that in the British Museum illustrated by Murray (*Tc Sarc.* pls. 1-7)—were clearly designed for a horizontal position: are we then to assume that the Clazomenians practised two forms of prothesis at the same period? Even the projections at the corners have been made into guards to prevent the corpse pitching out of a vertical sarcophagus.²⁰ But the upper projections are much too high to hold the shoulders of any normally proportioned body, even if it was tall enough to reach the top of the sarcophagus.

There remains another occasion when sarcophagi might have been stood on end—in the shop. They must have been sold from stock, anyhow not always made to order. In summer or if an epidemic or a battle caused a rush of work, the corpse would be already putrescent before an elaborate sarcophagus could be completed: there is no evidence for embalming either from literature or the contents of sarcophagi. But for storage it would be more convenient to have the sarcophagi upright. If they lay flat they would occupy more floor space; and to stack them one on top of another would be liable to damage the decoration, as well as making it more difficult and troublesome to shew stock to customers. The more elaborate and expensive sarcophagi, which lay flat, would of course be worth the extra floor space. It is, I think, reasonable to conclude that the cheaper sarcophagi would be stored upright in the shop; and there remains then no evidence that they stood upright in the prothesis. A last and trivial point: if in the prothesis they were to stand upright, there was no necessity to decorate the outside edge of the foot, at least not as carefully as the other edges; and the makers of the sarcophagi were not over-conscientious workmen.

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¹⁷ *AM* 1929, 17-47, *die Darstellungen der Prothesis*.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 32 and 44, no. 94, Beilage 16.

¹⁹ Kjellberg, *Jdl* 1926, 53 dates Clazomenian sarcophagi primarily by shape, and his arguments

from decoration are weak. In general I agree with Rumpf, *Jdl* 1933, 63-65.

²⁰ Pfuhl, *MuZ* L. 166.

ARATOS' ATTACK ON CYNÆTHA (POLYBIOS IX, 17)

POLYBIOS, in the course of a long fragment on the knowledge necessary for a general, preserved in the Codex Urbinas (IX, 17), has an account of an ineffectual attack on the town of Cynætha in North Arcadia by Aratos during one of his early generalships. Aratos, he tells us, had made full arrangements for a simultaneous attack on the town from traitors within and Achaean troops without, and as a signal to the latter a man was to go and stand on a certain hillock dressed in a cloak. Unfortunately a sheep-owner, while looking for his shepherd, went and unwittingly stood on this very hill, whereupon the Achaeans attacked too soon and were disastrously repulsed. What was the cause of the failure? asks Polybios, and answers 'τὸ ποιήσασθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπλοῦν τὸ σύνθημα, νέον ἄκμην ὄντα καὶ τῆς τῶν διπλῶν συνθημάτων καὶ παρασυνθημάτων ἀκριβείας ἀπειρον,'—because the general was still young and ignorant of the principle of signals and counter-signals.

The incident has been inexplicably neglected: Beloch, Tarn and Ferrabino¹ omit it entirely; Niese omits it from his article on Aratos in Pauly-Wissowa, and in his large work² writes simply 'Aratos unternahm einmal einen Versuch, sic (*sc.* Cynætha) zu überrumpeln,' vaguely indicating a date in the neighbourhood of 245-40; Pieske writing on 'Kynætha' in Pauly-Wissowa, has a bare reference, and Freeman,³ mentioning it in a note, declares that the attack was one of the first of a series of events leading up to Cynætha's joining the Achaean League. The words νέον ἄκμην ὄντα can, he adds, refer only to one of the earliest of Aratos' generalships, or possibly to some subordinate command held before he was general. In short, the incident has been almost completely ignored, and no attempt has been made to set it in its historical context. The purpose of this paper is to shew that it offers important evidence both for the date of Aratos' birth, and also for Achaean and Aetolian policy during the years 245-35.

In the first place, there can be little doubt as to the immediate source on which Polybios is drawing; from ch. 20, 4 (ὅτι τῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς τάξεις ὑπομνήμασιν ἀκριβέστερον δεδήλωται) it is plain that for this interlude on the duties of a general he is making use of his own earlier work on *Tactics*,⁴ and when in ch. 16, 5 he speaks of 'the blunders which they say (φασι) have been committed by many other generals' besides those he himself quotes, the word 'φασι' is probably a vague reference to all the sources he had used for that work. For the chapter on Aratos, there was one obvious source—the *Memoirs* of Aratos himself,⁵

¹ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*; note 51.
Ferrabino, *Arato di Sirione*.

² *Gr. und Maked. Staaten*, II, 261; for the view of Niccolini, *La Confederazione Achaica*, 28, see below.

³ *History of Federal Government*, Ed. 2, 314, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. Arrian, *Tact.* 1 and Aelian, *Tact.* I, 3, 19.

⁵ Walbank, *Aratos of Sicyon*, 6 seq.

which Polybios employed when he came to summarise this period in Book II of his *History*; for while it is true that Aratos did not as a rule stress incidents to his discredit, he had no objection to excusing his failures, particularly if they happened to be followed by a corresponding success shortly afterwards.⁶ The story here can therefore be treated as an account, accurate in essentials, and probably in details too (it reads convincingly), of an attack delivered by Aratos during an early generalship, and failing through the inexperience of youth.

Polybios calls Aratos νέον ἀκμήν.⁷ The word νέος is defined closely in a passage of Xenophon,⁸ where Charicles in a discussion with Socrates explains that the word refers to anyone not old enough to be a member of the Boule at Athens, that is, to anyone not over the age of thirty. That Socrates asked for the definition of a word is not, it need hardly be said, evidence that the ordinary man felt any doubt what it meant. So in our passage thirty or thereabouts can be set as the limit for Aratos' age at the time of this attack. Further, Aratos was general at the time—'Ἀρατος ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγός' are the opening words of the chapter. But, as we saw, Freeman suggests the possibility that Aratos still held some subordinate command, and though he does not pursue the point, he would no doubt have claimed that the word στρατηγός was here used merely to define the person referred to, just as the next three examples may be said to do, viz. καὶ μὴν Κλεομένης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, πάλιν ὁμοίως Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς and καὶ μὴν Νικίας ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός. However, it would be somewhat odd if Aratos were here defined by an office which he had not yet held, and the example of Nicias, who was officially στρατηγός at Syracuse, points to an official command in Aratos' case as well. Finally, in section 9 of the same chapter, Aratos is again spoken of as στρατηγός, which seems conclusive evidence against Freeman's suggestion. As Aratos was born in 271,⁹ he would be thirty in 241, and since the attack on Cynætha

⁶ In *Plut. Aratos* 36, for example, the brief reference to Aratos' defeat on Mt. Lykaion, followed by a full description of his capture of Mantinea, probably reproduces the version given by the *Memoirs*.

⁷ As these words occur in Polybios' own comments at the end of the chapter, it is most improbable that he is merely reproducing an expression by which Aratos might have sought to minimise his own age.

⁸ *Xen. Mem.* I, 2, 35.

⁹ *Pol.* II, 43, 3; cf. Walbank, *op. cit.* pp. 168, 175. I remain unconvinced by those writers who wish to put the date of Aratos' birth in 275 or 276 (e.g. Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 2, 228 seq.; W. H. Porter, *Hermathena*, XXII, 1932, 158 seq.). Mr. Porter, following Cavaignac (*Histoire de l'Antiquité*, III, 254, n. 3) sets Aratos' capture of Sicyon in 255, and the union with Achaea in 251. He assumes that Polybios (II, 43, 3) confused the two events, and so claims to explain the statement that in 225, or by his reckoning 224, when Aratos was elected στρατηγός αὐτοκρατορ, he had been thirty-three years in Achaean public life (*Plut. Arat.* 41; *Clom.* 16); the

thirty-three years are from 256 to 224, reckoning inclusively, for 'whether the date be 256 or 255 is a minor matter.' The objections to this theory are obvious. First, as Mr. Porter himself admits, Aratos had not been thirty-three years ἐπολιτευμένος ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς in 224; to get this figure, one has to assume that Plutarch made the same mistake as Polybios, in confusing the date of the freeing of Sicyon with that of the union with Achaea—a most suspicious coincidence, which is not explained away by the excuse that Plutarch 'is a biographer and a moralist, not an annalistic historian,' or that 'Polybius was writing not a biography of Aratos, but a history of the Roman world in forty books; he did not need to be precise about Aratos' age in 251.' Secondly, these thirty-three years have already been adequately accounted for by Klatt (*Quellen und Chronologie des Kleonumischen Krieges*, Appendix III, 122; cf. Walbank, *op. cit.* 174). Thirdly, this theory ignores the word 'φύρων' in *Plut. Arat.* 9, 4 ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὁρίσται κριτικὸς προσέμεινεν αὐτὴν φύρων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς—Aratos thought it best to attach the city promptly to the

took place during one of his generalships, we can say with confidence that it was in 245-4, 243-2, 241-0 or (to allow the very outside limit) 239-8.

In 235 Lydiades of Megalopolis resigned his tyranny and joined his city to the Achaean League;¹⁰ this date constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for all Achaean expansion in Arcadia, and it has been generally admitted that the capture of Heraea in Western Arcadia by the Achaean general Dioetas¹¹ is to be placed in 236,¹² when it was largely responsible for the alarm and capitulation of Lydiades. Niese¹³ places the fall of Heraea in 244, 242 or 240, but the Achaeans could scarcely have penetrated so far south into Arcadia by that time. On the contrary, Heraea is the culmination of a policy of expansion, and there seems no reason to question the date usually assigned to its capture. As Beloch pointed out,¹⁴ this capture presupposes the Achaean possession of Cleitor and Telphusa; *a fortiori* it presupposes the possession of Cynaetha, a town lying on the very threshold of Achaea, and isolated from the rest of Arcadia no less by the barbarity of its inhabitants than by the intervening mountains.¹⁵ For if we examine the map, we find that Cynaetha, lying at the head of the valley of the Erasinos, more or less on the site of the modern Kalavryta, controls the route over the watershed from Central Achaea into Arcadia, whether one continues via Luso and Cleitor, and so east to Caphyae and the 'Arcadian corridor' of Orchomenos, Mantinea and Tegea, or west to Psophis, Stratos and Telphusa, over the spurs of Mt. Erymanthos. Being on the Achaean side of the mountains it must have constituted a permanent threat to the inhabitants of the coast, and its acquisition would seem the obvious first step in Aratos' policy of aggression in Arcadia. As we have seen, its capture was preceded by the abortive attack mentioned in Polybios, which thus formed, as it were, a prelude to the new policy.

We must now consider in greater detail the events from 245 onward; I have argued elsewhere¹⁶ that Beloch's chronology for the years 245-40 is sound, notwithstanding his error in dating the Battle of Andros, which was in 246.¹⁷ Aratos' first generalship (May 245-May 244) was occupied in raids on the shores of Aetolia, and in a vain attempt to bring help to Abaeocritos and the Boeotians at Chaeronea.¹⁸ The defeat of the Boeotian League split in two the kingdom of Alexander of Corinth, and so alarmed his widow that in the winter of 245 Antigonus Gonatas was able to trick

Achaean League. Finally, the main object—to avoid having Aratos under thirty during his first generalship—loses all point in view of the present passage (Pol. IX, 17), where Aratos is expressly referred to as *σὺν* and *εὐπατρις* on the same occasion, and when, as is shown below, the historical situation makes it necessary to take *σὺν* in its strictly defined sense of 'under thirty.'

¹⁰ Plut. *Arat.* 30; Pol. II, 44, 5; cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 1, 632.

¹¹ Polybios II, 36.

¹² Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 2, 224; Ferrabino, *op. cit.* 273; Tarn, *CAH* VII, 745.

¹³ *Op. cit.* II, 261, n. 3.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* IV, 1, 632, n. 2.

¹⁵ Polybios IV, 20 has an interesting account of the character of the Cynaethans described from the point of view of a fellow Arcadian.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 178-80.

¹⁷ Tarn, *JHS* 1909, 365 seq. and *CAH* VII, 718.

¹⁸ Plut. *Arat.* 16; Pol. XX, 4, 5.

her out of the possession of Corinth.¹⁹ The subsequent raid of Aetolians into the Peloponnese in 244 enabled Lydiades to seize the tyranny at Megalopolis, and so caused the break-up of the remnants of the Arcadian League.²⁰ No direct account of this collapse has survived, and the evidence has to be deduced from the position along the western frontier as given by Polybios at the opening of the Social War in 220. There was peace between Achaea and Aetolia from 241 till 220, and though it is true that Elis was virtually an ally of Cleomenes during part of the Cleomenean War, any acquisitions at the expense of Arcadia (now part of Achaea) were naturally recovered when Cleomenes' cause collapsed; for example, Heraea was seized by Cleomenes in 227,²¹ but was recaptured along with Telphusa (which had presumably fallen with it) in August 224 by Antigonus Doson,²² who made himself unpopular by maintaining a Macedonian garrison there.²³ Thus any possessions held by Elis or Aetolia in this region in 220 were almost certainly theirs before 240.

Let us consider the scanty evidence we have.²⁴ Triphylia, which had long been a bone of contention, was now annexed by Elis, and with it went Alipheira, a gift of Lydiades κατὰ τὴν τυροννίδα πρὸς τινὰς ἰδίας πράξεις.²⁵ These events must belong to this date, since Lydiades would hardly have given territory to Elis once the Aetolo-Elean alliance had been made to include his enemies in Achaea; and we are probably justified in interpreting the ἰδίας πράξεις as help in seizing the tyranny at Megalopolis.

¹⁹ Following Tarn (*CAH* VII, 223) I formerly placed Antigonus' overtures to Aratos, mentioned in *Plut. Arat.* 15, after this recovery (*op. cit.* 43). After reconsidering all the evidence I have come back to the view of De Sanctis (*Klio*, IX, 1909, 1-9), and with him and W. H. Porter (*Hermathena*, XX, 1930, 293) place these overtures immediately after Aratos' journey to Egypt, and before Alexander of Corinth revolted in 249. This theory gives a more consistent picture of Gonatas' behaviour from the time Aratos freed Sicyon—the *παῖδες* of *Plut. Arat.* 11, 2, who gave Aratos twenty-five talents being Ptolemy, and not Antigonus (cf. M. A. Levi, *Athenaeum*, VIII, 1930, 308 seq.)—and explains the otherwise awkward passage in *Plut. Arat.* 9, 3 *ἐθροῦνται ὅτι Ἀντιγόνου . . . διὰ τὴν ἐλευσίαν*. On one point I disagree with Porter—on the attacks made by Aratos on Alexander of Corinth (*Plut. Arat.* 18). These Porter sets after Alexander's revolt and regards them as 'probably a private adventure at the head of Sicyonian troops.' It is, however, generally admitted that Alexander was a protégé of Ptolemy, and Aratos was drawing money from Egypt. Is it likely that Ptolemy would pay Aratos to attack Alexander—even in a 'private capacity'? Hence I infer with Ferguson (*JHS* 1910, 198) that the attacks were against Alexander as representative of Gonatas, and not as independent monarch. Ptolemy may have employed this final pressure to force Alexander to the point of revolting. My revised chronology for these years would be:—

251 January. Nicocles tyrant at Sicyon.

May.	Aratos frees Sicyon. Megalopolis freed about the same time.
Summer.	Subsidy of twenty-five talents from Ptolemy.
	Battle of Mantinea (?).
Autumn.	Sicyon joins the Achaean League. Aratos goes to Egypt.
250 Spring	Aratos returns from Egypt. Gonatas' overtures to him from Corinth.
Autumn.	Aratos' attacks on Alexander, Gonatas' governor at Corinth.
250-49.	Revolt of Alexander.
249.	Alexander makes peace with Athens and Argos.
	End of Gonatas' power in the Cyclades.
248.	The 'Second Ptolemaiea' vase festival at Delos.

²⁰ Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 1, 619; Niese, *op. cit.* II, 258; Walbank, *op. cit.* 43 seq.

²¹ *Plut. Cleom.* 7, 3.

²² *Pol.* II, 54, 12. August 224, i.e. the summer before Sellasia, which I date 223 (*op. cit.* 195 seq.).

²³ *Livy*, 28, 8, 6; 32, 5, 4.

²⁴ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 1, 620; Niese, *op. cit.* II, 258 seq.

²⁵ *Pol.* IV, 77, 10; cf. Pausan. V, 6, 1, which shows an Aetolian general, Polyperchon, using Samicon in Triphylia as a centre for raids on Arcadia.

This incident shews that it is at least possible that Lydiades continued to possess other Arcadian cities such as Heraea and Telphusa. This was Beloch's view,²⁶ but unfortunately the evidence is even weaker than he realised, since the statue erected to Lydiades was not at Cleitor, but at Caphyae.²⁷ Thus we have no direct evidence for Cleitor, Telphusa and Heraea. However, it is certain that they either maintained a precarious independence or remained under Lydiades. They were in the Achaean League by the time of the Cleomenean War;²⁸ and since it is improbable that the Achaeans had penetrated as far south as Telphusa before the peace with Aetolia in 241, plainly these cities could not have been Elean or Aetolian in 244. The example of Psophis and Alipheira, which were left as untouched possessions of Elis until the time of the Social War, goes to shew that Achaea's expansion in Arcadia was not at the expense of her allies. Psophis²⁹ was naturally seized by Elis; it was a strong fortress-town commanding the route over into Achaea via the upper waters of the Erymanthos and the two alternatives of Tritaea (Achaean) or Cynaetha (Arcadian). It is important to observe that in all these annexations the Aetolians appear to have seized nothing for themselves; though they made a further indirect acquisition of the district of Phigaleia,³⁰ which would prove an excellent base for raids against Sparta, or (as they later discovered) against their own allies in Messenia.³¹ In so far as the Aetolians had a fixed policy in the Peloponnese at this date (and were not merely in search of booty) it seems to have been to work through the allied states of Elis, Megalopolis and Messene.³²

What was the fate of Cynaetha? She may of course have maintained her independence; but for a town rent by the fiercest political factions³³ this was hardly probable. At the time of Aratos' attack plainly the Aetolian party was in power, and this points to the view that in 244 the town joined Elis, along with the neighbouring city of Psophis. A glance at the map confirms this assumption. With Psophis and Cynaetha in their hands, the Eleans (and so we may say the Aetolians) would have thrust a wedge along the southern frontier of Achaea, cutting her off from the cities of Arcadia, and facilitating Elean raids on her own cities as far east as Bura. Achaea had already shewn herself hostile to Aetolia the previous year, when Aratos raided the coast of Locris and Calydon,³⁴

²⁶ Pol. IV, 77, 10; Pausan. V, 6, 1.

²⁷ Cf. Ditt. *Syll.*² 504: the original «λητορ[ι]ω» has proved to be an impossible reconstruction, since the ι has now been shewn to be a τ. Dittenberger's third edition (which Beloch quotes along with his argument from Cleitor) reads «λοφω[ι]α», and the inscription is to be dated between 228, when Aratos took Caphyae, and 227, when Lydiades perished at Ladoceia.

²⁸ Telphusa: evidence from coins, cf. *IG* V, 2, p. 98; Cleitor, cf. Pol. II, 53, 9.

²⁹ Cf. Pol. IV, 70.

³⁰ Cf. Ditt. *Syll.*² 472, which is probably to be dated about this time. It gives the terms of an agreement for *ισοπολιτεία* between Phigaleia and Messenia, with

the Aetolians coming in as the allies of the Phigaleians. By the time of the Social War the *ισοπολιτεία* had become *συμπολιτεία* (Pol. IV, 3, 6).

³¹ Pol. IV, 6, 11, ix παλαιῶν χρόνων πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους φίλοι καὶ συμμάχους; and cf. the last note.

³² Beloch thinks that Aetolia made direct acquisitions in the 'Arcadian Corridor'—Tegae and Orchomenos (op. cit. IV, 1, 621). More probably these cities were ceded later by Achaea to preserve the Aetolian alliance (Tarn, *CAH* VII, 747; Walbank, op. cit. 67).

³³ These are particularly stressed by Polybius (IV, 17, 4).

³⁴ Plut. *Arat.* 16.

and this was a fitting reply. This Psophis-Cynætha corridor would serve Elis exactly as the Central Arcadian corridor of Caphyæ, Orchomenos, Mantinea and Tegea served Cleomenes in the Cleomenean War.

Aratos answered the threat to Achæa by seizing the Acrocorinth during his second generalship, in 243-2;³⁵ as I have shewn,³⁶ this was in essentials an act of defensive policy, and a direct means to Achæan security. The whole of the year would be taken up with the plans for the capture and the necessary consolidation afterwards, especially as Megara, Troezen and Epidaurus at once followed the example of Corinth and joined the League. Gonatas replied with an arrangement to partition Achæa with Aetolia,³⁷ and Aratos countered with a Spartan alliance.³⁸ It was only after this that he felt strong enough to embark upon an unmistakable policy of aggression. The alliance was autumn 243;³⁹ in spring 242, before his term of office was over, Aratos made the first of his raids on Attica.⁴⁰

The Spartan alliance transformed Achæa from a weak state into a strong one, and enabled Aratos to initiate his policy of aggression in Attica. The defeat of the Aetolians at Pellene in his third generalship⁴¹ (summer 241) strengthened Achæa even more, so that notwithstanding the death of Agis and the collapse of the reformers at Sparta, Aratos was able to make peace with Macedon and extend his aggressive policy to Argos.⁴² Clearly Aratos cannot have conceived a similar policy in Arcadia before the Spartan alliance; to attack a city belonging to Elis would have been to invite Aetolian retaliation, which Achæa was in no position to resist. Now, the early months of 242 are filled by Aratos' raid on Salamis and Attica; and by the time he entered his fourth generalship (239-8)—when, in any case, he had ceased to be strictly *vtos*—Elis is already a friendly state, by reason of the alliance between Aratos and Pantaleon of Aetolia,⁴³ and so Cynætha is immune from attack.

This appears to limit the attack to the year 241-0. Does it fit into the situation in that year? Now, it has always been something of a problem to explain the apparent delay in the Aetolian invasion of Achæa in 241; thus Tarn⁴⁴ writes: 'For some reason unknown the Aetolians did not move till 241,' and Ferrabino goes so far as to push the whole of the Spartan events of this period back two years in order that the battle of Pellene may follow close upon the fall of Corinth in 243.⁴⁵ I would suggest that the disaster at Cynætha is to be dated spring 241, and that it explains not why the Aetolians delayed their attack so long, but, on the contrary,

³⁵ Tarn, *CAH* VII, 734; Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 1, 621; Walbank, *op. cit.* 45.

³⁶ *Op. cit.* 53.

³⁷ *Pol.* II, 45, 1; IX, 34, 7; 38, 9.

³⁸ *Plut. Agis* 13.

³⁹ Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 1, 623, n. 4; Tarn, *CAH* VII, 734.

⁴⁰ *Plut. Arat.* 24, 3. Walbank, *op. cit.* 183; Tarn, *CAH* VII, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ *Plut. Agis* 13, 2. τοὺς καρποὺς ἀχαιῶν ἀπαιτῶν συγκαταστήσαντες ἥδη τῷ γυναικῶν i.e. June or there-

abouts; cf. Boethius, *Der Argivische Kalender*, 16, where the author shews that May is the usual harvest month in the Argolid.

⁴² *Plut. Arat.* 25, 4.

⁴³ This followed immediately upon the death of Gonatas, which is dated 239 by Tarn (*CAH* VII, 744) and Beloch (*op. cit.* IV, 2, 113), 240 by Dimmoor (*The Archons of Athens*, 108-9).

⁴⁴ *CAH* VII, 734.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* 280.

why they attacked at all. Their pact with Gonatas was made in the summer or autumn of 243, and almost immediately afterwards they would hear of Aratos' Spartan alliance. Naturally they would look to Macedon for help—help that was not forthcoming.⁴⁶ Evidently the agreement with Gonatas meant simply permission to do all the work and let Macedon enjoy half the spoils. The Aetolians waited all 242, and half-way through 241; then suddenly they marshalled their forces and hastened towards Megara and the Isthmus. They had heard, I suggest, of Aratos' attack on the allied town of Cynaetha, and feared to see an aggressive policy inaugurated by Aratos in Western Arcadia and Elis. As a result of their defeat at Pellene the Aetolians were of course prevented from giving Elis the help they had intended, and this, together with the impotence (or reluctance) of Gonatas, may very well explain their readiness to make peace and an alliance so soon afterwards. Psychologically, the fact that Aratos came to the Isthmus straight from the fiasco of Cynaetha would do much towards explaining his hesitation at fighting a pitched battle, and his jealous dismissal of Agis.⁴⁷

It remains to consider briefly the nature of the Achaean expansion in Arcadia between 241 and the capture of Heraea in 236. As we have seen, it is unlikely that in the north Elis laid claim to anything more than the corridor of Psophis and Cynaetha. The capture of Cynaetha was, however, of prime importance to Aratos, and it must have come soon: in any case, its capture cannot be later than the alliance with Pantaleon. This alliance was a great blow to Megalopolis, who found herself virtually abandoned by Aetolia; the period from 240 to 236 is a story of Achaean expansion southwards at the expense of the independent (or Megalopolitan) cities of Cleitor, Telpusa and Heraea. But Cynaetha must have fallen very soon after the attack mentioned by Polybios; from all we know of Aratos, it is unlikely that he would allow the rebuff to go long unanswered,⁴⁸ and though Polybios says⁴⁹ that 'those of the citizens who were acting with him were at once detected, put on trial and executed,' this can hardly have embraced all the leaders of the Achaean party. Thus it is in every way probable that Cynaetha came over to Achaea within a few months of the victory at Pellene, not necessarily before the peace between Gonatas, the Aetolians and the League⁵⁰ (for Aratos was notoriously careless of peace treaties), but at the latest by 240, and probably before the end of Aratos' generalship in May 240.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Cf. *Tarn, C.H.* VII, 734. 'When his anger cooled, he (sc. Gonatas) declined thus to stultify his life's policy and left Aetolia to act alone.' Does Mr. Tarn mean that Gonatas cancelled the agreement? I can hardly think that if the Aetolians had been successful, he would have rejected his stipulated share.

⁴⁷ *Plut. Arat.* 31; *Agis* 14-15; cf. the confused version of Pausan. II, 8, 5, in which it is Agis who takes and loses Pellene—undoubtedly a recollection of the Isthmus incident.

⁴⁸ Cf. in this respect his repeated attempts on Argos.

⁴⁹ *IX*, 17, 8.

⁴⁹ *Plut. Arat.* 33.

⁵⁰ Niccolini, *op. cit.* 28, thinks that Cynaetha joined the League after Leonidas' death and Cleomenes' accession in 235, and connects this with Aratos' raids on the parts of Arcadia nearest to Achaea, mentioned in *Plut. Clem.* 3. I have, I think, shewn that this date is too late, and the raids in question, if we accept Plutarch, must have been directed against the districts of Arcadia nearer to Sparta, whom they were intended to provoke. But in fact Plutarch is here to be rejected, since he is following the untrustworthy tradition of Phylarchos, which sought to make Aratos the aggressor in the Cleomenian War.

Thus the chronology of the years 244-240 will run:—

244. Aetolian raid in the Peloponnese. Triphylia and Alipheira go to Elis. Elis given Psophis and Cynætha. Messenia enters into close relations with Aetolia and Phigaleia. Lydiades tyrant at Megalopolis.
243. Summer. Aratos, general for the second time, captures Corinth. Antigonos arranges to partition Achæa with the Aetolians.
- Autumn. Lysander ephor at Sparta. Sparta allies herself with the Achæan League.
242. Spring. Aratos' invasion of Attica and Salamis.
- Autumn. Agesilaos ephor at Sparta; reaction crushed. Aetolians, receiving no assistance from Macedon, make no move.
241. May. Aratos, general for the third time, attacks Cynætha, but fails to take it.
- June. The Aetolians march on the Isthmus. Battle of Pellene; Aetolians defeated.
- Autumn. Fall of Agesilaos and Agis.
- 241-0. Peace between Gonatas, Aetolia and Achæa. Now or earlier Aratos takes Cynætha.
240. Spring. Aratos attacks Aristippos of Argos. He also attacks Athens, with a force under Erginos.
240. (Dinsmoor) { Death of Gonatas: Demetrios II succeeds.
239. (Tarn and Beloch) { Aetolo-Achæan alliance between Aratos and Pantaleon.

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NOTES

Heron's Screweutter. In a paper on *Ancient Oil Mills and Presses*¹ I touched upon Heron's screw-cutter, an instrument for cutting an inside screw thread in wood, described by him in his *Mechanics* (iii. 21). In relation to the oil-presses, it was a mere side-issue; but since the editor of the text, L. Nix, did not seem to have understood the instrument fully, I gave my own interpretation of the text, and a reconstruction, on paper, of the instrument.

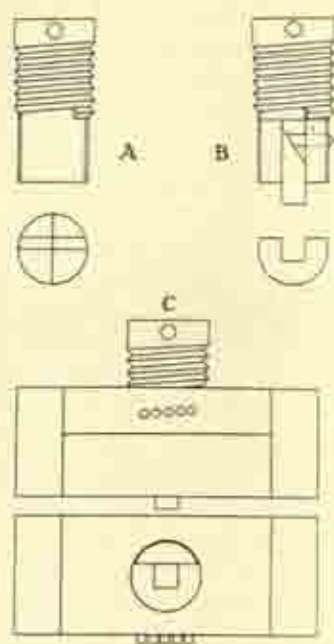


FIG. 1, reproduced from *Ancient Oil Mills and Presses*, p. 139, fig. 28, shows how the author reconstructed the screw-cutter on paper. A comparison with figs. 4 and 5 will show that it is in essentials identical with the model.

This interpretation, or rather, the reconstruction, has been called in question by Mr. E. J. André Kenny, who in *Antiquity*, 1933, 7, 249, declares, that it is 'technically impossible.' If that is the case, either the text, or my interpretation of it (or both), would seem to be at fault. Quite apart from the general inadvisability of starting an argument against a review,

it seems clear that such a question could only be satisfactorily answered in one way: by a practical experiment. As the screw-cutter is only a small instrument, I was able to reconstruct it, and I found that it works. It is this experiment that I wish to describe.

Heron's text is found in an Arabic translation only; it is printed, with a German translation, in *Heron's opera omnia quae supersunt*, Vol. 2, part 1, 1900. I give first a translation of this text, distinguished by quotation marks; next a description of the experiment, step by step, as it followed the text; and finally, in parenthesis, my comments thereon.

Pag. 249: 'As for the female screw, it is made in the following way: we take a piece of hard wood, more than twice as long as the female screw, and as thick as the female screw.' A piece of hornbeam, 41 cm. long, was turned down to a diameter of 5 cm. for a length of 10 cm. from one end, and to a diameter of 6 cm. for a length of 17 cm.; the rest, 14 cm. long, was left at 8 cm. (The screw was to be 6 cm. thick, the screw-thread 0.5 cm. deep; the hole for the female screw would be 5 cm. in diameter.)

'And on one end we make on half the length of the piece of wood a screw as has been described by us: the depth of the furrows of the screw on it should be like the depth of the furrows of the screw we want to screw into the female screw.' Heron's instructions for making a (male) screw are found in his *Mechanics*, ii, ch. 5 (*Opera* 2. 1, p. 103) in theory, and ii, ch. 16 (*Opera* 2. 1, p. 135) in practice. The first place is quoted in Greek by Pappos (ed. Hultsch, III, p. 1124); the second place is not quoted literally by Pappos, but a description of how a screw is made is found in his Book 8, prop. 24, ch. 28, part 49 (ed. Hultsch, III, p. 1108 sq.). As I have followed Pappos rather than Heron, I quote him for the following section. The method is the same in all essentials, but a little more practical in Pappos.

Pappi Alexandrini Collectionis quae supersunt . . . ed. Fr. Hultsch, III. 1 (Berlin 1878), p. 1110; *ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ ἴσου ἵσχυρος τετραγωνίανος ὁ ΑΔΕΖ. πλευρὰ δ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ΑΕ, καὶ ἐλθόντα μονοτροχίου ὅλκας ἐν αὐτῇ διαστήματα τὰ ΑΒ.* 'Let there be imagined a cylinder turned to an even thickness, ΑΔΕΖ. its side being ΑΕ, and let the height of a single

¹ *Det kgl. Danske Videnskabsnæst Selskab. Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser*, 1, 1, 1932.

screw-line on it be supposed to be AB ;* (see fig. 2). My cylinder was the piece of hornbeam, 17 cm. long by 6 cm. thick; the height of the screw-thread I chose to be 1 cm. καὶ λιπίδιον χαλκοῦν γεγενῆσθαι, οὗ τὸ μὲν $H\Theta K$ μέρος τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον ἔστω ὁρθήν ἔχον τὴν Θ γωνίαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παραλληλόγραμμον ὀρθογώνιον τὸ $\Theta K A$, ἵση δὲ κείσθαι $\Lambda \Theta H = \eta$ AB , ἡ β $\Theta K = \delta$ περιμέτρω τοῦ $A\Delta E Z$ κυλίνδρου, *and let there be made a strip of sheet bronze,

καμψέλης [δε] τὴν καλουμένην μονόστροφον ἑλικὰ ὡς τὴν BA . *Then let the strip be wound round the cylinder, so that the rectangle $\Theta K A$ will also become a cylinder, fitting ΔE , when the latter is put into it, and let Θ come at A , and H at B , and thus let us draw along the twisted hypotenuse HK the so-called single screw-line like AB * (see fig. 2). I chucked the cylinder in the lathe and bent the brass strip round it, till the parallel sides

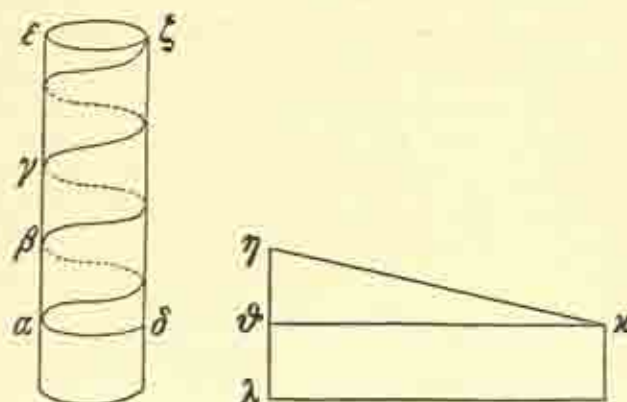


FIG. 2, reproduced from Pappos, ed. Hultsch, p. 1111, illustrates the Greek text.

of which the part $H\Theta K$ should be a rectangular triangle with the right angle at Θ , and the rest a rectangle, $\Theta K A$; and let $H\Theta$ equal AB , and ΘK equal the periphery of the cylinder $A\Delta E Z$;* (see fig. 2). On a sheet of brass, 0.4 mm. thick, I measured off 18.9 cm. ($\pi \times 6$ cm.); and drew a rectangle, 4 cm. high, on this base, to represent the rectangle $\Theta K A$; one side

touching. Then I fastened the ends of the strip together with a little solder, according to Heron's instructions. (Heron uses a triangular piece of brass, which is not practical, but advises us to fasten its ends together, which is a help.) καὶ πάλιν μεταθέτε; τὸ λιπίδιον, ὥστε τὸ μὲν Θ κατὰ τὸ B εἶναι τὸ δὲ H κατὰ τὸ Γ , γράφομεν διὰ τῆς HK ἑτήσαν ἑλικὰ μονόστροφον, ὥστε τῇ ὅλῃ εἶναι εἰστροφον.

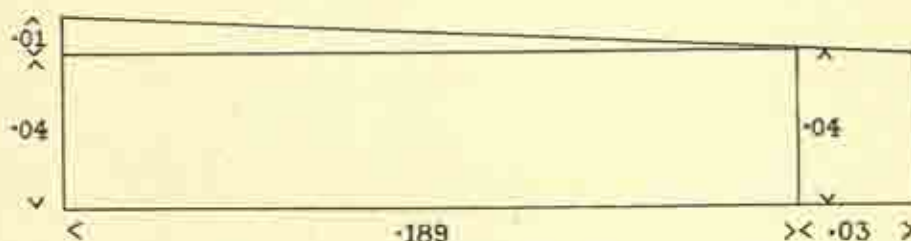


FIG. 3 shows how the templet for drawing the screw-line on the two screws was made. Except for the overlap it is identical with the drawing from Pappos shown in fig. 2. The templet itself is shown on fig. 4.

I produced 1 cm., and drew the slanting line to the other corner, to get the triangle $H\Theta K$. Then I cut out the figure, making the narrow end 3 cm. longer than necessary, to get an overlap for soldering (see fig. 3). καὶ περικαμπτίσθαι τὸ λιπίδιον περὶ τὸν κύλινδρον, ἵνα καὶ τὸ $\Theta K A$ παραλληλόγραμμον κύλινδρος γένηται ὁπίσθεν τοῦ ΔE , ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ, καὶ κείσθαι τὸ μὲν Θ ἐπὶ τὸ A , τὸ δὲ H ἐπὶ τὸ B , καὶ οὕτως γράφομεν διὰ τῆς HK ὑποτινέουσας

'Then we move the strip again, so that Θ comes at B , and H at Γ , and draw along HK another single screw-line, so that the whole line now has two windings.* I had drawn along one side of the cylinder a straight line, which I divided into centimetres; I found no difficulty in getting a continuous screw-line drawn. (Heron, in speaking of moving the brass strip to its new position, says: 'Then we turn the triangle . . .'. If

the templet fits well, the easiest way to move it is to screw it along. Heron certainly knows what he is writing about.) ἐάν οὖν καὶ ἐκείραν τῶν ΑΒ·ΒΓ καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς ἀχρεῖ τοῦ Ε διχα τέμνωμεν καὶ διὰ τῶν σημείων τῶν λεπτῶν γραψόμεν μονοστροφούς ἑλικας (καὶ) ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ βάθος τῆς ἑλικας ὁ βουλομένη λάβωμεν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθους λατῶν καὶ τῆς γραφείας ἑλικας γ, ῥαβδίω τὴν ἑλικα ποικισθὴ διηγήσαντες ἔχομεν ἀπρητισμένην. 'If we now bisect also ΑΒ, ΒΓ, and the rest up to the point Ε, and by means of the strip draw single screw-lines through all the points, (and) take? according to the depth of the screw we have decided on—?—, and from this depth? and—?—the rest and (from ?) the screw already drawn, we will soon by filing have the lenticular screw made ready.' (The text is corrupt, and Hultsch takes this section to be a later addition, but the meaning seems quite clear all the same.) I divided the line on the cylinder once more, this time into half centimetres, and made a second screw line by means of the same templet. Then I took a fine saw and clamped on it a strip of wood 0.5 cm. from its edge; with this tool I made a saw-cut along the second screw-line for some nine windings. With a broad chisel I next cut away the wood between the first screw line and the saw-cut on both sides of the latter, and finished off with a file. I had now a screw, nine threads long, the height being 1 cm. and the depth 0.5 cm.

(We now take up Heron's own text where we left it.) 'From the other part we turn off the wood to the depth of the screw-threads, so that it becomes like a round peg of equal thickness.' This work I had already done, in turning the first 1 cm. down to 5 cm. in thickness.

'We next draw two diameters on the base of the wood, and divide both of them into three parts.' (The text says: 'on the two bases' which is absurd. Nix changes the dual of the diameters also; I followed the text and drew and divided both diameters, as explained below.) Since the back centre had left its mark on the end of the 'peg,' the future boring bar, I had no difficulty in drawing two diameters at right angles across it; I divided each into three parts.

'Through one of the two dividing points we draw a line at right angles to the diameter.' This was easily done.

'Then we draw from the two ends of this normal two straight lines along the entire length of the peg, and that is possible for us if we place the peg on a flat piece of wood, and we scribe the two lines with a point till we reach the screw thread.' ('With a point' is my conjecture; Nix, correcting the text in another way,

translates 'Mit einer Zange.' The word is corrupt; the four MSS. give three different readings, all of them meaningless.) By placing the peg flat on a piece of wood, and using another piece of wood for a ruler, I drew the lines without difficulty, using, however, a pencil, not a point.

'Then we use with great care a fine saw, till we have sawn through right up to the screw-thread, and we cut the marked third off from the peg.' I used the finest tenon saw I had, and cut off the segment with the same saw.

'And we cut out in the middle of the remaining two-thirds to their whole length a furrow like a canal, whose size is half the thickness of the remaining wood.' (By 'size' is meant 'depth,' I think; that would bring the bottom of the groove down to the second mark on the diameter. The breadth is determined, I think, by the marks on the other diameter, being one third of the thickness of the peg. Heron doubtless made the iron cutter to fit the groove, whereas I preferred to make the groove to fit the size of iron I had; so I did not follow him in regard to the dimensions.) Having first smoothed the saw-cut with a file, I cut out a furrow, 1.25 cm. deep by 1.5 cm. broad all along the middle of the flat side of the peg or boring bar. The reason for making it 1.25 cm. deep was that I wanted to make the cutter out of a piece of iron 1.25 cm. square. The breadth is determined in this way: the cutter has to cut to the depth of the screw-thread, which is 0.5 cm.; the wedge, which has to drive it out, should not be less than 0.5 cm. thick at its point, which gives us 1.0 cm. as a minimum; I then added 0.5 cm. for good measure.

'Then we take a piece of iron and sharpen it to suit the screw thread.' ('Sharpen' is my conjecture; the text has 'turn it,' which gives no sense.) I cut off a piece of iron, 1.25 by 1.25 cm. thick and 3.0 cm. long. At one end I filed a point, the sides of which met at an angle of 90°; the point itself came at the height of one side of the cutter, behind the top I filed away from both sides to get a good clearance. As the top of the cutter did not come out along the diameter of the boring bar, but a little below it, I filed down the triangle on the flat, upper side of the point till it formed a plane sloping towards the centre of the boring bar. The point looked very much like the prow of a boat. As the base of the triangle was 1.25 cm., it was broad enough to cut my screw-thread, which was to be 1.0 cm. broad. The other end of the cutter had to be filed to a slant to fit the wedge, which was to drive it out.

The slant of the wedge is determined by two things: the length the wedge has to travel, and the length it has to drive out the cutter. The latter was 0.5 cm. + 0.5 cm. for good measure; the former was determined by the distance of the cutter from the upper end of the groove, that is from the end of the screw-thread. I decided to put the cutter 4.0 cm. from the screw-thread, and so got a slope of 1:4 on the wedge and the back of the cutter. I made a small templet of brass, marked the end of the cutter and filed it down. (Heron says nothing of all this, but it seems very necessary all the same.)

'Then we make it fast to the peg with the groove in it.' I cut out a groove at right angles to the long groove, 1.25 cm. by 1.25 cm., to take the cutter, filing it carefully till the cutter was a snug fit. The distance of the nearest part of this groove from the screw-thread was 3.5 cm.; that of its middle approximately 4 cm. (The cutter has to scrape the inside screw-thread, so that it has to come at right angles to the peg or boring bar. It has to be driven out little by little, so it has to slide in a groove. The forces at work on it will be: (a) a strong pressure against it towards its back, when it is scraping; (b) a lesser pressure towards its end, trying to drive it back against the wedge; (c) as it is driven out, the pressure against its point will try to raise its inner edge, turning it with the edge of the groove as a fulcrum. There is no way of meeting all three unless the segment is replaced. But this lid is the weakest part of the construction and so has to take the least stress, that mentioned under point c. One side of the long groove takes b, as it forms the backing for the wedge; while a, the strongest pressure, is taken by the bottom of the short groove.)

'Next we make its end come out into the screw-threads, after we have fastened the two segments together very firmly, so that one remains fixed to the other and they never can come apart at all.' (The first part of this sentence I take to mean that we arrange the cutter in such a way that its end can be driven out into the screw-threads we are going to make; but it is not very clear.) I planed the flat side of the segment and put it back by means of four wood screws. (This is an anachronism, since such screws were unknown to Heron, who probably fastened the segment by means of nails and glue.)

'Then we take a small wedge and put it into the canal and knock it along till it forces out the cutter, and it lies between the two segments.' (See fig. 4.) ('The two segments' is a correction by Carra de Vaux.) Of course I made the

wedge before I replaced the segment. It is a piece of oak, 10 cm. long, 1.4 cm. broad and 1.1 cm. thick. The slant is 4.0 cm. long, and the thin end 0.4 cm. thick. (As for the last sentence, Carra de Vaux takes 'it' to be the cutter, while Nix takes it to mean the wedge. I think it means rather 'since it (the cutter) lies between the two segments'—so that we can drive it out.)

'When we have done this, we put the screw into a piece of wood in which we have bored a hole that fits exactly the thickness of the screw.' (In 1932 I followed Nix, translating: 'a perfectly straight hole'; now I prefer to translate it as above.) Into a block of mahogany I bored, by means of a centre-bit, a hole of 6.0 cm. diameter. As I had already decided on the size of the screw because of the size of the centre-bit, it would have been far better to make the hole first, and then turn the hornbeam cylinder to a good fit. Still, it fitted well enough for its purpose.

'Then we bore in the sides of this large hole small holes one after the other, and put small, oblique, round pegs into the holes, and drive them in till they engage the screw-thread.' I drilled three holes on either side of the mahogany block, 1.2 cm. in diameter, and turned six pegs of ash wood to fit them. The ends of the pegs I cut with a knife till they engaged the screw-thread. The pegs had to be a tight fit to be of any use. (See fig. 4.)

'Then we take the plank into which we want to cut the female screw and bore a hole to fit the screw peg.' I took a board of beechwood, 33.5 by 17.0 by 4.0 cm., and bored a hole 5.0 cm. in diameter, by means of a centre-bit. (The thickness of the plank is determined by the distance of the cutter from the screw, since the screw cannot enter the female screw, which is cut out little by little. The guiding screw must be a little longer than the thickness of the plank. Heron ensures this by directing that the whole instrument must be more than twice the length of the female screw (i.e. the thickness of the plank); one half is used for the guiding screw, the other half for the peg or boring bar. The cutter is placed at the outer end of the boring bar, while the outer end of the screw is used for the handles.)

'Then we join this plank to the plank into which the screw is fitted, by means of two up-rights which we fasten very carefully.' I nailed two small pieces of wood, 2.5 cm. thick, across the face of the mahogany block, and then screwed on the beech-wood plank by means of four long screws. This is another anachronism;

Heron probably means that we are to use clamps and wedges. I did not screw the plank directly on the block, because I wanted to see how the cutter worked at the beginning of the furrow. (See fig. 5.)

'Then we put the peg with the wedge in it into the hole in the plank in which we want to cut the female screw.' (The hole in the plank must come into line with the hole in the block. To ensure this the screw is placed in the block while the plank is fastened to the latter, so that the peg is our guide.)



FIG. 4.—The screw-cutter before assembling. On the left, the piece of hornbeam with the handle, the guiding screw, the peg or boring bar, the groove, the cutter and the wedge, before the segment was put back.¹ On the right is the mahogany block with the hole for the guiding screw and the six pegs; on it are standing the segment from the boring bar and the brass templet.



FIG. 5.—The screw-cutter at work. The mahogany block has been fastened to the beech-wood board, which is put up on the carpenter's bench. The segment has been replaced (two screws are seen), and the cutter is at work inside the hole in the board. The wedge to drive out the cutter is seen sticking out of the boring bar, which projects behind the board. Compare fig. 1, C.

¹ And we bore holes in the upper end of the screw and put handles in them.' I bored one hole right through the top of the hornbeam cylinder and put in a round stick of oak.

'And then we turn it till it penetrates into the plank, and we keep on turning it up and down, and knocking in the said wedge every now and then, till the female screw has been cut to the depth we want.' I placed the instrument in the back vise of a carpenter's bench (still another anachronism) with the screw in a horizontal position, and started to turn the handle.

¹ Compare fig. 1, B.

I had smeared the screw and the peg with tallow to make them turn more easily. There were several difficulties which I had not foreseen. The wedge should have been a very tight fit to keep its place; I had to wedge it with another wedge, a small slip of wood. The round pegs held very well, as long as I turned the screw; but when I knocked in the wedge, they came out and had to be knocked in again. In 1932 I had foretold that the chips would give trouble; but I found that there was no trouble at all. The chips were just like saw-dust, and the cutter pushed them out before and behind without difficulty. The first one or two mm. of the depth were the worst; as soon as the beginning of a groove was cut, the cutter worked steadily

and well with a clear grating noise, except at the two places of every turn where it had to go right against the grain. At the beginning and end of the furrow it had a tendency to push the wood aside rather than cut it; this was of little moment, since it could be corrected by means of a chisel afterwards. (See fig. 5.)

'And so we have cut the female screw.' (See fig. 6.)

There remained only to see if it would fit a screw made to the same size as the guiding screw. I turned a piece of mahogany to 6.0 cm. in diameter, marked it with the templet used for marking the guiding screw, cut out the

screw, and made it fit into the screw-nut I had cut. (See figs. 7 and 8.) The experiment was complete, and had succeeded.

This experiment shews that the instrument as reconstructed by me is not only not 'mechanically impossible,' but is quite effective. Moreover it is possible to make it by means of tools known at Heron's time; the anachronisms were

this work, even though I must contend that he was wrong, and that I am able to quote, by rights, Heron's last sentence on this topic: 'This is the shape, and with it ends the book.'

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FIG. 6 shews the female screw cut into the beech-wood board. The screw-thread is quite smooth except towards 10 o'clock, where the cutter has worked right against the grain. Where the screw-thread comes out, the wood has been pushed aside rather than cut; it was smoothed afterwards with a chisel.



FIG. 7.—The screw. The two last windings have not been filed smooth, but have been left to shew the saw-cut and the chisel-cuts with which they were made.



FIG. 8 shews the mahogany screw fitted into the screw-nut cut into the beech-wood board. This is the final proof of the success of the experiment.

merely a matter of expediency, and detracted nothing from the value of the experiment in this regard. As the instrument was made in the strictest accordance with Heron's text as interpreted by me, the fact that it will work goes a long way to show that my interpretation cannot be far wrong.

I must own that I have never for a moment doubted that my reconstruction on paper of Heron's screw-cutter was correct; but I have been astonished at the amount of little things I have learnt through working out my theory in practice, and I am not sure that it will ever be right to discuss in detail an antique instrument without making a model, if it is in any way possible. So I am quite thankful to Mr. André Kenny for having made me undertake

An Illustration of Bacchylides.—Plate V represents a small Attic bell-krater in the collection of Mr. Edward Armytage, who has kindly permitted its publication. The subject is novel: it appears to be the arrival in Attica of Theseus, and shews in detail a close correspondence with our main literary source, the seventeenth ode of Bacchylides. The two youths on the left are the two companions of Theseus, Peirithoos and Phorbas¹—800 (F) or φῶρε νόμου ἀναστὰς Νηῦν (i.e. line 45). They are in travelling costume, booted and cloaked, wearing ephraic fillets² and bearing pairs

¹ See Robert, *Hermes*, 1898, 150.

² On this form of head-band, with a high tang in front, see G. Blum, *RA* iv. 21 (1913), 269. (I owe this reference to Prof. Beazley.)

of appears—ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ βό' ἐν χρίσσει δένειος (l. 49, though said of Theseus himself, not of his comrades). The garlanded altar in the centre is presumably that of Zeus Melichios near the Kephissos, where Theseus was purified by the Phytalidae;¹ and on the far side of this sits Theseus himself, in an attitude of repose after reaching his destination—δίζησθαι δὲ φιλῶγλῶνος Ἀθάνας (l. 60). A petasos (κηδετικὴ καὶ ἰάν Λακωνικὴ, l. 50) is pushed back on his neck, and his cloak (οὐλοῖον θεοπολὶν χαλμῶδα, l. 53) is spread beneath him. He is crowned in preparation for the rite of purification, and he holds, turned down in sign of peace, the club with which he slew Periphetes: one is almost tempted to use this detail in support of Kenyon's suggested supplement to l. 48, κερύειν τε περὶ αὐτόν. Above and before him are lines of dots, imitating inscriptions. On the right are the Attic deities—first, Athena herself in a defiant attitude as though denying ingress until Theseus has been purged of his blood guiltiness; behind Athena, Poseidon with his trident; or did the artist intend not Poseidon himself, but his Attic hero-form Aegeus, the earthly instead of the heavenly parent of Theseus?

The vase is said to have been found at Corinth and measures .255 m. (to ins.) in height. Stylistically it calls for no comment, being average work of that dull period of Attic vase-painting, about 380 B.C. The reverse has a stock subject, three draped youths and two cippi.

F. N. PRYCE.

British Museum, London.

CIG 3938, 3952, and 3953 f. Piety toward the past is seldom more unselfishly displayed than when scholars copy inscriptions totally devoid of meaning. Such were to Chishull, Borrell and Schönborn these fragments which, thanks to modern discovery, can now in the main be understood.

I.

CIG 3938 (from Laodicea ad Lycum) is tentatively restored by Ramsay (1895)² without indication of the length of lines; that was not ascertainable till 1898, when G. Weber made known as follows the city's official style of about 225-250 A.D. (*AM* xxiii, 1898, p. 364, no. 4, with a few supplements):

¹ Pausanias I. 37. 4; Plutarch *Thes.* 12.

² *CB* p. 74, no. 8; Waltzing, *Corp. profess.* iii, p. 42, no. 129; *IGR* iv. 863. Cf. Poland, *Gr. Veram.* p. 117, note ** and, in the list of inscriptions, Z 70.

[name of honorand]

[his public services]

[... .. λαν-?]

or

[... .. πομο-?]

γρο[?]5[...]

[?]α ἐν φ[...]

Σαβαν[...]

νεωκόρ[...]

5. μήτρον[...]

λε π[...]

α[...]

[... πόλις]

This formal title (ll. 3-7) evidently recurs in our *CIG* fragment, and so gives the length of its lines; filling them out with similar verbiage in ll. 5-8 we are led to a new version (Fig. 1).

The only textual assumptions here made are that, as often happens, Λ was twice copied as Ο (ll. 4, 6) and that Λαοδικαίων, slightly inset, stood alone in l. 8. The article α[...]-a restoration imposed by the space—clearly indicates the city tribes as dedicators; they here acted jointly, as did α[...] at Ancyra under Hadrian (*IGR* iii. 208). On the phrasing of ll. 1-2 it seems useless to speculate; else one might think of, e.g., ἐπιλύσαντα?]] τὸ [πρὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ἐμπορίου [...]-meaning 'dispute,' as in *I. v. Perg.* 245 C. 28 = *OGI* 335. 119; the settling of a quarrel between artisans' guilds, such as those of the Fullers and Singlet-makers, could be an important boon to an industrial city.

L. 4: ἐπιτοργές (not found elsewhere and unrecognised by the new L. & S.) appears to denote a maker of 'vestes quae dicebantur solae, ὅπλοι' (*IGR* iv. 863, note). This latter term applied also to shoes (L. & S. 1925, ὅπλος I. b), but the fame of Laodicea for cloth and clothing manufacture makes the meaning 'singlets' or 'one-piece garments' seem here more probable.

L. 6: The Weber fragment cited above shews that at some time in the third century Laodicea received the rank of 'metropolis.' Six cities—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamon, Sardis, Cyzicus, Tralles—were known to have borne that title;¹ now Laodicea must be reckoned as one of the seven 'metropoleis of Asia.'

How many tribes Laodicea had is not known; there have survived so far the names of six only: *Apollonis, Athenais, Attalis, Laodikeis* (*RE* xii. 723), *Ias* (unpubl. text, 1933), *Sebaste* (text above); so flourishing a city may well have had twice that number.

¹ Cf. *Forsch. in Eph.* iii. p. 156 f.

Laodicean.

Non prout ab aqua ducta potest transire
fluvicolum, qua ad urbem ascenditur
in lapide muro apponitur.

B. 1. p. 21.

IC.
ΕΝΤΟΡΙΟΥΝ
ΤΑΝΤΑΡΕ.
ΑΤΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΒ.
ΟΚΟΡΟΥ.
ΤΗ ΑΣΙΑΣ
ΛΑΟΔΑΜΑΙΩΝ.

(name of honorand)
(his public services)
IC.
[C. 1. 1. 1. . . .]
[ἐντορίου ν[ε] 5 l.]
[τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ]
[ἀπλουργῶν, (ἀνθε-)]
[τησιν α[ν]τ[η] 11-]
[αὐτοῦ (μητροπ[ο] -)]
[λαῶς] τ[η] 11-] 'Ασίας
[λαοδ[α]μαίων
[πόλεως δώδεκα?]
[φυλάει.]

FIG. 1.—CIG 3938: Chishull's lemma and copy; B.M. MS Add. 10, 102, fo. 37r.

II.

CIG 3952, reproducing Sherard's text from Attouda, has 25 lines and its completeness is vouched for by A. H. Smith.¹ But as republished from Bailie² in CIG iii, p. 1106 (= LBW 743-744), it has 43 lines, and the additional 18 have hitherto remained obscure. Not only was their inaccuracy in Borrell's copy, our best authority, much aggravated by Bailie's emendations but, since he alone vaguely connected them with Attouda, it was uncertain where Borrell had found them. This puzzle can now for the most part be solved owing to the discovery by Professor Calder in 1934 at Hisarköy of an inscribed statue-base³ mentioning, as *archiereus* of Attouda, Marcus Aurelius Achilleus Modestos Makrobios. This name is, as shown below, plainly readable in Borrell's copy; and the 18 lines thus represent an honorific inscription from Attouda, which in Borrell's notebook became tacked on to the 25 lines of CIG 3952. While in ll. 1-2, 17-18, of our transcription the names cannot be certain, the first two were evidently borne by sons of Andreas, son of Pereitas, the dedicating agonothe of CIG 3952, 15-18. Here is the suggested text adapted from Borrell (lines numbered separately and also, as in CIG iii, p. 1106, from 26 to 43):

Borrell's copy:⁴

ΑΛΩΡ - ΗΟΝ	1 (26)	(Φ)λωρ[ισ]γόν [καὶ]
ΣΝΕΑΝΤΟΥΣΑ -		[Α](νθρ)άν τῶς
		'Α[ν]τ[η]
ΕΟΥΤΟΥΠΕΡΙ -		[δρ]έου τοῦ Περ[ι]τ[η]
ΤΟΥΤΟΥ - - - ΣΣΑΓ - ΟΝ		του, τοῦς <α> ἀγ[ω]ν-
		[ο-]
ΘΕΤΑΣΔΙΑΡ - - ΙΟΥ	3 (30)	ἦτας διὰ θίου
ΤΩΝΤΟΙΟΥ - - -		τῶν Ποι[η]τ[η] [α] [γ, M.]
- ΥΡΑΧΥΛΛΕΥΣΗΟ		[Α]νθρ. 'Αχ[ι]λ[λ]ε-
		ως Μόδ-
ΕΞΙΣΤΟΣΝΙΑΚΡΟ		[δ]εσ[σ]τος (M)α-
		κρ[ο]-
ΠΟΕΟΑΕΙΟΑΟΓΩ		(β)ι[α]ς δ ἀξιολογώ-
ΑΤΟΣΔ - - ΕΙΣ - ΥΣ	10 (35)	[τ]ιτος θ[ε]ρ[μ] (χ)ι-
		[α]ς
ΙΩ - - ΟΕΤΙΣ - - ΤΡΗ		[α]λ[φ]α[ν]τ[η]ς τ[η]ς [π]ο-
		τ[η]ρ-
ΟΣΣ - - - ΝΕΛΗΣΑ		[δ]ος [τ]ι[μ]η[σ]α-
ΕΝΟΣ - - ΑΤΩΝΩ		[α]ινος [τ]η[ς] ἀγ[ω]-
		ν[ο]-
ΣΙΑΣ - - ΟΙΔΕ		[θ]ι[α]ς [α]π[ο]κ[αθ]-
		[α]-
ΗΣ - - - ΕΙΠΑΤΙ - ΙΔΙ	15 (40)	[τ]η[ς] [α]ν[τ]η[ς] πα-
		τ[η]ρ[η]δ[ι],
ΑΙ - Ν - ΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ		[δ]αμν[η] [π]ρο[α]ν[ο]ν-
		ο[ν]
ΑΥ - ΥΙΑΙ - ΑΙΜΙΟΣΧ		[Γ?] Λυ[α] (α) [α] [α]ν
		καὶ Μ[α]κ[ρο]σ[χ] [α]ν
ΟΕ - ΔΙΟ - ΦΙΝΤΟΥ		[α]ν[τ]η[ς] Διοφ[ά]ντου.

¹ JHS viii, 1887, p. 224.

² Fac. inscr. Gr. ii, p. 244.

³ Text to be published in MAMA vi.

⁴ From Bailie, *l.c.* (differently rendered, LBW 744).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

A Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics. I. **The Publications of 1931.** The text of the German Edition with an English Introduction, edited by the WARBURG INSTITUTE. Pp. xxii + 333. London: Cassell & Co., 1934.

The method of the present bibliography was founded by Prof. Warburg, and the idea underlying it is that of a comprehensive 'science of civilisation.' This means that the bibliography is not confined to works dealing with the literary and scientific survival of the Classics, but embraces also those whose theme is their survival in rudimentary forms of magic and folk-lore. It must be confessed that the short English introduction is somewhat difficult reading and not remarkable for its lucidity. But the reviewer hopes that its gist is not misrepresented by what has been said above. The delay in the appearance of the volume is stated to be due to a desire to evolve a tenable principle of arrangement. There are included 1238 titles, and all the works, except eleven, are reviewed critically at varying length. It is intended that the present volume should be supplemented by that of Richard Newald, which deals with the years immediately preceding 1931, and by the Catalogue of the Warburg Institute. The main divisions of this bibliography are: (1) Books treating ancient tradition as a whole. (2) Books confining themselves to one particular subject. (3) Books treating of one particular epoch.

The bibliography is obviously the fruit of immense labour, and will be of great interest to librarians as an experiment. The vast influence exercised by classical tradition is brought home by this conspectus of modern works directly or indirectly due to it, and published in a single year. The ultimate utility of the undertaking will largely depend on whether the scheme can be continued with anything approaching regularity. The average scholar will probably use the book simply as a work of reference and turn to the very complete indices of authors and of persons and subjects respectively. The second of these performs the important function of linking up subjects of the same class which for various reasons are separated in the bibliography.

F. H. M.

JHS.—VOL. LVI.

Alt-Olympia. By W. DÖRPFELD and others. 2 vols.: pp. 501; 62 plates, 85 text illustrations. Berlin: Mittler & Sohn, 1935. 30 m.

This book is the tragedy of a man who read texts and excavated to prove them true. He has done so by disregarding the discoveries of the last fifty years and by creating an archaeological world of his own, into which we need not follow him.

The solid archaeological achievement of Professor Dörpfeld's activities at Olympia is the discovery of the prehistoric settlement, pp. 73-96. Clear plans and sections of the prehistoric buildings are welcome. Two occupation levels are indicated, but no attempt has been made to associate the pottery found with either. Shape is unimportant to Professor Dörpfeld, early Helladic tankards and Minyan kantharoi are all monochrome to him. Yet we glean one scrap of new stratigraphic evidence. The kylix, which has a ringed stem (see fig. 1) like the Ithacan kylikes, was found with Minyan pottery above building 5.

Stones delimit the edge of a segment of an undated grave-mound, no doubt the Pelopion, pp. 118-121.



FIG. 1.—MYCENAEAN KYLIX-STEM FROM OLYMPIA.

Prof. Dörpfeld has established the existence of three temples at the Heraion on substantially the same ground plan by the discovery of two

earlier floor levels. Heraion I is apteral, II, III are peripteral. In his reconstructions of Heraion I he does not indicate how much is conjectural, and he does not appear to have paid sufficient attention to his own admirably clear plans and sections. Six rabbeted floor slabs were found, almost or quite in position, but this floor may not have covered a large area. Certainly it should not have been restored in the south-west corner of the cella Abb. 36, where the stratification records an undisturbed burnt layer above a clay floor H. 43, plates 9, 15, 16. No evidence is offered for the stylobat of Heraion I. In plate 13 H. 31 the floor slabs rest on natural soil. This is good evidence against a stylobat at that spot.

The value of Prof. Dörpfeld's careful excavation cannot be estimated till the new finds are published in their context. The reviewer was privileged to see our author's admirable series of note-books at Leukas, and doubtless this information has been preserved. The drawing Abb. 55 of the sherd said to date Heraion II is not convincing, but it is probably to be dated about 600 B.C.

Few sherds from Pisa have emerged from their packing-cases. The plans show careful work.

F. Forbat gives a detailed study of the floors of the temple of Zeus, with a summary on p. 247. If Prof. Dörpfeld's account of the position of the paintings of Panaios is correct, they must have ruined both the inside of the temple and the great statue of Zeus. Mr. Forbat's evidence is that the barriers said to be connected with them were later than the floor round the throne, and not part of the original composition. The text of Pausanias is also against this objectionable reconstruction.

The books end with a new study of the pediments by A. Weege. It starts soberly enough. The heroines in the East pediment go next Zeus, the heroes change over and turn half-centre. The bearded head is rejected. Must we, can we reject it? The statue of Zeus holds a double axe. Pausanias knew he was a statue because he is behind a large and disconcerting altar. The God on the other pediment is also a statue of Zeus, and he has an altogether intolerable altar. The next step is, as we feared, that Pheidias is the Master of Olympia. We have slipped into Dörpfeldia unawares. S. B.

Die Ruinen von Priene. By M. SCHEDEL. Pp. 114, with 127 text figures and folding map at end. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1934. 8.60 m.

This is a most excellent little book, which is

really needed not only as a portable *code mecum* of the important site of Priene, condensing the greater work of Wiegand and Schrader, but also as bringing that monumental work up to date. Much of the essential matter of the larger book has been embodied, and there are some very useful additional illustrations, such as the line-perspective showing a restoration of the gymnasium on p. 89. This and many other illustrations have been borrowed from the works of Hiller von Gaertringen, F. Krischen, B. Meyer, M. von Massow and A. von Gerkan. Meyer's general air-view of the ruins (fig. 13) and the Treue photographs of the model of the town on figs. 10 and 11 are particularly valuable. To anyone who has visited Priene, the illustrations (figs. 50 and 51) taken from *Antiquities of Ionia*, Part I, showing the site of the Athena Temple in 1868-69, are illuminating, if somewhat depressing. We must now be content with the indestructible platform and its magnificent retaining walls, shown finely in figs. 53 and 54. A folding-plate at the end of the book shows Kummer and Wilberg's valuable detailed plan of the entire site. T. F.

Milet. By TH. WIEGAND. Band II, Heft 3, *Die Stadtmauern.* By ARMIN VON GERKAN. Pp. 136; 88 text figures, 24 plates and 3 plates in text. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1935. 60 m.

This, the fifteenth of the impressive series of German publications on Miletus, under the general editorship of Dr. Th. Wiegand, deals with the town walls. It is a detailed commentary on the whole framework of the general plan of the site (Pl. 1), which is an enlarged version (with chronological data) of Pl. 6 in Prof. von Gerkan's *Griechische Stadtanlagen*, produced by the same publishing house in 1924.

The walls of the Hellenistic town of Miletus, doubtless modelled considerably on the Greek town, enclosed an area nearly 2 kilometres in length and rather more than 1 kilometre in width, conforming to the lines of the irregular sea-promontory of the site of that time. For about three-quarters of their perimeter they were therefore protected from all landward approach. The remaining section is naturally the one that is best preserved and its examination occupies a great part of the present work; but there is a valuable piece of Hellenistic walling on the extreme north of the site. To-day, neither promontory nor walls are recognisable without careful examination, as the silting-up of the bay of Miletus has produced a vast area of swampy ground, above which tower the re-

maining landmarks, notably the theatre. The walls were, for the most part, late Hellenistic, but probably rather later than the Pergamene walls and it is obvious that the theatre constructions proper are of the Romano-Hellenistic period. The boldness and ingenuity of the placing of the theatre (one of the largest classical theatres extant) directly on the wall is worthy of notice and affords an interesting parallel with Pergamum, where the theatre encroached on the western terrace. At Miletus the *proskention* and *skene* encroach on the wall and cause a buttressed redoubt at this point (see Abb. 57 and Beilage 3).

The whole of the walls and gates are examined in detail, the principal sections of the work being on the 'Heiliges Tor,' the 'Löwentor,' and the Theatre. The two first-named had important gates associated with towers (the general effect of each being rather like that of a College gateway); and square towers, as a fortified protection, formed a feature of the wall system, especially on the vulnerable south side, where they are closely-spaced at intervals of about 200 feet. It is a little difficult to find one's way about, and the names of the principal gateways might have been mentioned on the general plan on Pl. I. It is also difficult to ascertain the archaic walls from this plan. These are obviously confined to the isolated hillock to the south of the later town, shown more clearly in Beilage 1, but early finds are shown in the north-wall area of the town (see the sixth-century B.C. lions in Abb. 83 and 84) and in the east-wall region by the round-alar details in Abb. 29.

As a thoroughly illustrated architectural examination of some large-scale and valuable evidences of late Hellenistic fortified walling in particular, the book is important. The existing evidences are recorded with great care and thoroughness and in a systematic manner, both in plan and elevation; and there are some excellent photo-illustrations in the text showing the recurrent narrow-strip construction and the modified 'Flemish-bond' construction which were characteristic of Hellenistic walls about the turn of B.C. and A.D., the latter form of construction being prevalent in Palestine and Syria. Other valuable features of the illustrative material are the restorations of the 'Heiliges Tor' and the 'Löwentor' shown on pp. 26, 27 and 52, and of the gatehouse of the south 'Quermauer' on p. 75.

The archaic architectural details (p. 51) conform to Samian and other contemporary usages, and there are many of these archaic

evidences (as well as some fragmentary late Mycenaean ones) still left on the site; but it is, in the main, for its interpretation of the later Hellenistic period that Miletus will ultimately be most valuable, as an important part of the comprehensive work on Hellenistic architecture which we may hope for some day. T. F.

Villes d'Asie Mineure. By L. ROBERT. Pp. 255 with 13 plates and 6 maps. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1935. 30 fr.

The title of this book is, as the author admits in his preface, misleading. It should read, 'Quelques villes obscures d'Asie Mineure.' It consists of a series of monographs on the topography, and history, if any, of some dozen lesser-known cities, Came, Stratonicea of Mysia, Panda, Satala of Lydia, Diocaesarea-Keretapa, Tyriaeum (a city of S.W. Phrygia, not the better-known city of the Phrygo-Lycaonian border), Dionysopolis, Larba, Germe, Attalos and Kidrama. There are also critical examinations of the text of Pliny, *NH* V. 101 (a list of Lycian cities) and V. 108 (Eumeneia of Caria), and a number of appendices, consisting chiefly of correction of and notes on already published epigraphical texts.

M. Robert uses his exhaustive knowledge of the topography, epigraphy and numismatics of the region with his accustomed accuracy and acumen. He relies particularly on the evidence of the coins, not only on their types, but also on their provenances; the issues of obscure cities, he points out, rarely travel far. By this method he is able to fix the approximate site (confirmed by a hitherto neglected inscription) of Came. By the same method he is able to demolish the cities of Germe on the Caicus and Attalos on the Mysian coast, and to locate Germe and Attalos (the correct form of the name) in the neighbourhood of Hadrianotherae. In none of these cases does he attempt a precise localisation. Kidrama, on the other hand, he first fixes approximately by a re-examination of the evidence afforded by the coin types and legends and then fixes definitively by the preponderance of Kidramene coins among those found on the site. M. Robert also uses the evidence afforded by the survival of names; he is careful to point out the limitations of this method. He thus fixes Satala. By the same method he fixes Diocaesarea-Keretapa at Kaysar. This identification is not very convincing, seeing that Hierocles and the *Notitiae* call the city Keretapa, and it seems unlikely that the official name if no longer used even in official records would have survived in the language of the people. One

combination of Semitic and Hellenistic cultures which was achieved in Syria is of great importance, and M. Dunand's work, illustrating a curious local phase of this fusion is of value for this and other purposes. In 1925 he was appointed by the French Academy to help with the antiquities collected in Soueida (ancient Soada), the capital of the Druse Mountain, and undertook an archaeological tour of the district. His catalogue of the Museum at Soueida is however the tragic but invaluable memorial recording a short-lived collection. In the Druse rebellion the contents of the little museum at Soueida largely disappeared, and of its branches at Salkhad and Kafer, the former was totally destroyed. M. Dunand, however, has included the lost pieces (apparently designated by the asterisk) in his record, which is liberally illustrated in good collotype.

The collection contains, it is true, only a few pieces of intrinsic beauty: that is due in part to the provincial sites represented and in part to the refractory nature of the local material, basalt. There are pieces from the temples at Qanawat and the Hauran; fragments shewing Palmyrene, Nabataean and other influences; of the inscriptions several are new; some like many of the sculptures are of importance to students of Semitic religions. The contributions to prosopography are of value. One inscription, again (222), is of importance as indicating that the ancient name of Salkhad, not hitherto known, was Triacome.

Finally, one can only regret that M. Dunand has not less occasionally ventured to assign dates to the objects, which in some proportion of the cases at least could probably be determined with reasonable approximation.

R. D. B.

Probleme der Frühgriechischen Plastik. By A. Gotsmich. Pp. 121; 6 figs. Prag: Otto Czerny, 1935.

Mr. Gotsmich first considers the origin of Greek sculpture. He finds an architectonic tendency in the great Dipylon vases, in the Dipylon ivory statuettes, in the early temples. This development was made possible by increasing prosperity. The sudden appearance of monumental stone temples and statues gave rise to theories of foreign influence, but in every case the resemblances are superficial and the differences fundamental. The style is Greek, and develops from predecessors in Greek lands.

The first aim of the Greek artist was to give a clear, well-built representation of the human body and to define its parts. This produced

the pipe-like body on spindle-legs of the Geometric period, to be followed by the 'block' body of early archaic times, which was a kind of reaction. Later came further definition, and at last movement. Contrast this development in the study of nature with the static, hieratic art of Egypt. Wood was the favourite early material, partly on grounds of economy, but chiefly because it suited clear division and sharply defined detail.

Details of hair or costume or ornament might at any time be borrowed from the East, but always were given a Greek form. In Ionia forms were made rounder than in the Peloponnese because the Ionians preferred round forms. Our author might have added that bodies actually were rounder in the indolent East.

The book is a well-reasoned and very welcome statement containing many good things not mentioned here. Just one suggestion. Surely along with kore in 'block' form stood the tall thin kouros, direct heir of the Geometric warrior.

Mr. Gotsmich ends with a defence of the attribution of a Nike at Delos to Archermos. He argues convincingly that inscriptions are often written in strange places, that the shapes of plinths vary, and that plinths do not always fit their beddings exactly. He may be right in deducing a possible depth for the plinth of 0.29 m. from the depth of the statue, but he has not given sufficient consideration to the main objection to the attribution. The size of plinths is chiefly determined by the size of the part that touches them. The depth of the Nike's drapery at the break is very small, about 0.06 m., and getting smaller. Evidence should be offered to shew how it could hollow out to require a plinth 0.29 m. deep, fig. 6. A new difficulty has arisen from a proposed layer of lead 0.03 m. wide in the bedding. There will be much more on the left side than on the right, and it is nearer the left edge. Is it not dangerous to interfere with the balance of an abacus which stands on a pillar 5 m. high and supports a Nike in the Delian wind?

Our author realises that if his attribution is accepted, this Nike is a sad embarrassment to those who would like to flood Athens with Chiot korai and Chiot artists, for she wears the peplos, and her style is, he thinks, markedly Peloponnesian. He says that she looks more Ionian when photographed from below and, it must be added, a little out of focus, but it is unbelievable that her sculptor made her in Peloponnesian style with this end in view, or that fig. 4 b gives a truer picture of her style than fig. 4 a.

Even if all the conclusions are not immediately

acceptable, this is a vigorous study containing new and interesting observations. S. B.

Artemis Ephesia. I. Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler. By H. THUMASCH. Pp. 150; 76 plates, 4 illustrations in the text. Berlin: Weidemann, 1935. 22 M.

This, the first part of a comprehensive study of the Ephesian Artemis, is devoted to a description of the monuments; the argument is reserved for the second volume, which it is hoped will appear shortly. In the meantime it will be sufficient to say that the Catalogue has been compiled with exemplary care and completed with adequate pictures. The statues are described in full, special attention being paid to the question of restorations; and here we may draw attention to the curious adventures of the two most elaborate representations of the goddess in this island, the statue in Sir John Soane's Museum (No. 8) and the alabaster statuette which, once in the possession of Dr. Meade, passed in 1931 to the collection of Dr. Robert Mond (No. 9) and see *Nachträge*, p. 125). Bronzes, terracottas, lamps, gems and coins are treated more briefly, only those examples being included which supply some new feature. The last section '*Nochankliche Darstellungen*' traces the history of the type in later art, beginning with Raphael, and continuing through Hogarth and the Foundling Hospital down to modern postage stamps.

Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums. Band III. 1. By GEORG LIPPOLD. Pp. 220; 77 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1936.

It is good to be able to welcome a continuation of the German Institute's catalogue of the Vatican sculpture. The first two volumes, which appeared in 1903 and 1908, were compiled by Walther Amelung. At his death in 1927 he left behind him a great deal of material which has been worked upon by Professor Lippold and others; the first results of this editorial activity are this half-volume devoted to the Sala delle Muse, the Sala Rotonda, and the Sala a Croce Greca.

The main archaeological problem to be solved in the Sala delle Muse is, of course, that of the Muses themselves. L. judges that the Muses not only belong together in their present form, but are also copied from a single complex of originals. These he supposes to have been bronzes of the early third century, but he does not attempt to define their origin more closely. To the seven statues in the Vatican L. adds a

fragmentary statue from the Ludovisi collection in the Museo delle Terme (Schreiber 2). It is uncertain whether there was ever a ninth; L. is not disposed to include Croce Greca 571, which Amelung wished to bring into the group. He also definitely excludes the Apollo 516, which was found with the Muses. As some of the Muses are standing, while others are seated on rocks, it seems likely that the composition of the original group was asymmetrical and informal, with the figures placed, perhaps, on different levels, as on the Archelaos relief; the Roman copies, however, seem to have been to some extent uniformised in order to suit a symmetrical architectonic setting. L. judges the copies to be of Attic manufacture, and to date from the second century after Christ; the original group, he thinks, may have stood somewhere in the Greek East.

The herm inscribed with the name of Aspasia 523 is treated with more respect than it has generally received. L. is of opinion that the inscription is neither a modern forgery nor an ancient addition to a work originally destined for another purpose. He thinks that the portrait may have been evolved in Socratic circles during the fourth century, and have been based perhaps on the actual evidence of Aspasia's tomb-relief. The melon-coiffure is unlikely to be taken over from a fifth-century portrait, but is possible in the fourth. L. says that a Hellenistic or Roman artist would have designed the herm differently (he does not, however, say in what way), and seems to reject Curtius's ascription of the work to an Alexandrian school. It seems easier, none the less, to regard it as a somewhat classicising product of the Hellenistic period than as a product of the fourth century; such delicate points are hard to prove in a Roman copy, and judgment in such cases is bound to be largely subjective.

In discussing the date of the original of the Antisthenes portrait 307, L. considers it to be contemporary with the old age of the philosopher (first quarter of the fourth century), though hesitating to adopt Arndt's suggestion of Demetrios of Alopeke as the author. He admits that as compared with the portraiture of Silanion this shows a much-heightened expressiveness; and this undoubted fact might be thought to imply that the type was a later creation—perhaps as late as the end of the century. It is hard to find so much romantic individualisation so early in the history of Greek portrait-sculpture.

L.'s special studies in the dating of copies enable him to distinguish more confidently than most the periods in which several well-known

statues were made. To take only three examples from the Sala Rotonda: He conjectures that the copies of the Sarapis of Bryaxis (cf. the Zeus of Otricoli 539) were made in Egypt, on account of their poor quality (for marble sculpture was never a native craft in Egypt, where marble was scarce), and that therefore the Zeus of Otricoli may be earlier than it looks at first sight. The Hera Barberini 546 L. traces back to an original of about 420 B.C., and to the school of Agorakritos; the copy is Hadrianic, or a little later. The colossal statue of Juno Sospita 552 is described as an Aurelian copy of an eclectic archaizing cult-statue of the Antonine period at Lanuvium. These judgments may seem perhaps over-confident; it is encouraging, however, to find someone bold enough to make a start with the obscure problem of dating the Roman copies of Greek sculpture.

In describing the portraits in the Sala Rotonda, L. makes several judgments which are worth noting. He rejects, for example, Curtius's attempt to rename the colossal statue of Nerva as Galba, though he admits that the head bears little resemblance to the head from Tivoli in the Terme. There is, however, a considerable likeness between the profile (see detail on pl. 46) and the coin-portraits of Galba (e.g. Stükelberg, pl. 27). L. compares the colossal statue of Claudius 550 with that at Olympia signed by Philathenaios and Hegias, and remarks that in spite of this fact the original was a Roman creation; it was probably made in the Emperor's lifetime—the divinised forms have nothing to do with the *consecratio* as such, and the circumstances of this event make it improbable that many statues of the Divus Claudius were erected. L. rejects the conventional designation of Pertinax for the colossal bearded head 556; he ascribes it to the third century, but does not attempt to identify it. The structure of the hair, forehead and beard reminds one somewhat of Macrinus. L. ascribes the colossal head of Plotina 553 to the period of Marcus Aurelius; the workmanship is too advanced for the period c. 129, though naturally the artist would have used a contemporary likeness. The identification of the colossal head 554 as Julia Domna is abandoned, but L. does not suggest an alternative. L. is inclined to accept Curtius's identification of the portrait-head in the Sala a Croce Greca 567 as Cleopatra.

The two most important exhibits in the Sala a Croce Greca are naturally the porphyry sarcophagi of Constantina 566 and Helena 589. These two monuments have lately been examined by two Swedish archaeologists, E. Sjöqvist and

A. Westholm (*Opuscula Archaeologica*, I (1934), pp. 1 ff.), who have concluded from the remarkable stylistic differences between their relief-decorations that they differ considerably in date, that of Constantina belonging to the fourth century and that of Helena to the second half of the second. This view was formerly propagated by Riegl and Frothingham, but is now generally abandoned; L. agrees with the majority of modern opinion. It is true that there is some resemblance between the composition of the mounted Romans trampling on barbarians on the long sides of the sarcophagus of Helena and the *decursio* on the base of the Antonine column in the Giardino della Pigna, but Rodenwaldt has pointed out that this likeness is purely superficial. The figures on the sarcophagus were almost without exception restored in the eighteenth century, and are thus more classicist in style than the originals are likely to have been; and their purely abstract relation to the relief-ground would have been impossible in the Antonine age. Moreover, the shape and dimensions of the two sarcophagi correspond closely, and they are altogether of fourth-century type. The divergent styles of decoration are also quite possible in a period whose artistic idiom was by no means uniform; very great discrepancies are noticeable in works which belong unquestionably to the age of Constantine.

The general arrangement of text and plates follows that adopted in the two earlier volumes; there is naturally a considerable improvement in the quality of the illustrations.

R. H.

Frühgriechische Gruppenbildung. By CHARLIE HOFKES-BRUCKER. Pp. xii + 80; 12 plates. Leiden: 1935. Konrad Triltsch, Würzburg. 5.80 m.

A great deal of thought and much study of material have gone to the making of this essay on early Greek composition; too much thought, indeed, for it suffers from the general ascription to a primitive art of aims and intentions that belong to a more sophisticated age. The author implies, though she does not actually state, that the artists were all full of the philosophy of art, striving each of them consciously to achieve unity without undue sacrifice of the parts, or *vice versa* trying to emphasise the parts without damage to the whole.

In dealing with vase drawings, naturally the main stock of her material, she ignores the element of decoration, the relation of the figures to the vase, which through most of the period of which she treats was the dominating factor.

She is at her best in her enthusiastic appreciation of the Brygos painter, and at her worst (or her most fanciful, for too much fancy is the fault of this book) where (p. 55) she applies different interpretations to the attitudes of the two listeners on the Berlin kyathos (Pl. xi, 23). There are very full references to illustrations, twelve plates of good half-tones, and an index to all the works quoted, arranged under museums.

J. P. D.

Der Niobidenmaler. By T. B. L. WEBSTER. (*Bilder Griechischer Vasen*, edd. BEAZLEY and JACOBSTHAL, Heft 8). Pp. 24; 24 plates. Berlin: Heinrich Keller. 20 m.

The standard of illustration, the main feature of this series, is as high as in earlier volumes, and the text admirably combines brevity with a setting forth of the essential points. The details on which the relative dating of the vases is based are adequately indicated, and we are shown reasons why it is best to think that the Niobid painter and the Alcumura painter were two, not one and the same, though their periods overlapped. In discussing the vase that gives the painter his modern name the author comes to the view that the 'Argonauts in Lemnos' is after all the best interpretation of the scene on the front, and he goes on to discuss how far this vase and one or two more reflect the great wall paintings of Polygnotus and his fellows, a question which gives this vase-painter his main interest. For the author in his short final appreciation does not claim that he is in the front rank. He lacks *flex*. It might have been added that, however fine his drawing (which roused Reichhold's enthusiasm), he is wanting sometimes in a proper sense of what should be the primary function of his figures, namely to decorate the vase.

J. P. D.

Shapes and names of Athenian vases

By G. M. A. RICHTER and M. J. MILNE. Pp. xxiv + 32; 23 illustrations in the text, 191 figures on 34 plates. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1935. \$1.50.

This delightful little book has grown out of an earlier work by Miss Richter, *Shapes of Greek Vases*, published a dozen years ago, but in the growing it has been improved out of all recognition. First, instead of a few stock illustrations of the forms, we are now given in each case a series of pictures arranged in chronological order, so that the history of every vase-shape leaps to the eye—the change of emphasis from breadth

to height, the increasing elaboration of the foot, etc. The illustrations are, as before, based mainly on the rich collection of the Metropolitan Museum, but other museums are now freely drawn upon to complete the series. Secondly, there is a full discussion of ancient vase-names, wherein the authors are careful to emphasise which are certain, which doubtful, and which are merely scholars' fancies retained for the sake of convenience. There is much important information in this section; not every archaeologist knows, for instance, that there is no authority for *palike*, that *dinos* is not a synonym for *lebes* but a drinking-cup, that *kylixnis* is the true Attic word for what we call *kylix*, or that *kylix* cannot be pinned down to any shape. With this text are interspersed illustrations, taken from vase-paintings, shewing the various shapes in daily use among the ancients. There is a full bibliography and, finally, the book is attractively printed and moderate in price. This is a work which the scholar cannot ignore, while the beginner will find it a most practical introduction to the study of Greek vases.

Il B. Museo di Spina. By S. AURIGEMMA. Pp. 282; 178 illustrations. Ferrara: a cura del Comune, 1935. 18 l.

The finds in the cemetery of Valle Trebba, near Comacchio, in the delta of the Po, have now been transferred from the Soprintendenza a Bologna to the Palace of Ludovico il Moro at Ferrara, which has been restored and refitted to receive them. The site was discovered in 1922, and excavation is still going on. The earliest graves date from the end of the sixth century, the latest from the early third. So rich a burial-ground must have belonged to a great city, and that city is believed to have been Spina. The extraordinary importance of Valle Trebba may be illustrated by a comparison with what had been hitherto the chief North Italian site of the period, Bologna. Some 900 vases have been found at Bologna; but 1650 vases from Valle Trebba had passed through the workshop by 1935, and some thousands more have still to be dealt with. The quality is at least equal to that of the Bologna vases, and there are many masterpieces; the condition is much better; the graves were undisturbed; they are nearly all single interments; and most of them have been excavated with scrupulous care. Besides vases there are fine Etruscan bronzes. Architecturally the cemetery offers nothing; but in other respects it is comparable to the greatest Italian sites.

Few of the finds have been published. A

bibliography is given in the preface: two admirable articles by Dr. Negrioli deserve special praise. The final publication has been planned on a magnificent scale, and cannot appear, one must suppose, for some years. The present work gives an excellent account of the site, of the excavations, of the modes of burial, and of select graves with their contents: illustrated by a few of Mr. Finamore's wonderful drawings and a good many of Mr. Proni's wonderful photographs. Dr. Aurigemma pays generous tribute to his fellow-workers, Dr. Negrioli, Mr. Proni, and Mr. Finamore.

In 1929, by the kindness of Dr. Aurigemma, I was able to spend two days looking at the vases. I was not allowed to take notes—that was the official regulation and not the fault of Dr. Aurigemma—and the observations that follow are based, apart from the pictures in this book and in previous publications, on what I wrote down while my memory was fresh. I give cross-references where the author does not. I include some notes of Miss Haspels on the late bf. vases. She has not seen the originals, and has only the minute half-tones to go by. The terms she uses are explained in her *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, which is in the press. I mark her notes with an H.

Title-page: the maenad seems not to be mentioned in the text: she comes from a fr. by the Methyse painter; perhaps of a dinos. P. v, see on p. 129. P. x, see on p. 87. Pp. ix-xii (ancient texts on Spina): in the first line of text I read βασιλεύοντες—βασιλεύοντες is a misprint in the Teubner text; text 3, here reprinted from C. Müller, is highly conjectural: read αὐτῇ in line 3; text 7 is taken from an obsolete text of Pliny. P. xiii, see on p. 213. P. xvii, see on p. 141. P. 1, above, see on p. 141. P. 1, below, see on p. 129. P. 11, 2, see on p. 201. P. 49, column-krater: by the same hand, a pelike in Mykonos (A, youth fluting and youth with jug and pointed amphora; to r., an altar). P. 52, see on p. 229. P. 53, above, see p. 213. P. 53, below, see on p. 129. P. 55, bf. vases: 2, Daybreak painter (H.); 3, kotyle of the Heron group; 4, painter of the half-palmettes (H.); 5, workshop of the Athena painter? (H.); 6, hydria, painter of the half-palmettes (H.); 8, Beldam workshop (H.); 9 belongs to a class, often with this subject, near the Haimon painter; 10, and the amphora-fr. 13, would seem to be a little earlier than the other bf. vases found on the site, at least those published; 11 (also *NdS* 1927, p. 153, 1), near the Haimon painter (H.); 12, cf. *Coll. Pecci*, no. 453, Emporion painter? (H.); 14, Haimon workshop

(H.); 15, painter of the half-palmettes (H.). P. 57, second jug from right, workshop of the Athena painter (H.). P. 59, above, column-krater, probably by the Harrow painter. P. 59, left, cf. another bf. oinochoe, *NdS* 1927, p. 153, 2. P. 59, bottom, see on p. 61. P. 61, this cup with the love-name Hipparchos is not by Epiktetos, but by the painter of the Bonn cup or very like him; a cup-fr. published by Negrioli (*NdS* 1927, p. 145) might be a little earlier than this, and, as Negrioli says, the earliest vase found on the site, for none of the bf. vases seem older. P. 63, a late cup by the Panaitios painter or an early one by Onesimos. P. 67, middle (already *Mourion*, 16, pl. 8, 1-2), column-krater by the Pig painter; cf. especially his column-krater with the same subject in Brussels, R 305. Another column-krater by this painter is published in *NdS* 1927, p. 147 (whence *AA* 1928, p. 130, fig. 1). P. 67, right, cup, see on p. 69. P. 69, cup with Danae by the Eucharides painter: already published in a popular article by Colasanti in *Rivista del Popolo d'Italia*, Nov. 1928 (p. 42), which I shall quote as *RPI*. P. 71, bell-krater by the Pulsano painter (see *Metz. Mus. St.* 5, p. 140, no. 26): the discovery of a vase by him at Valle Trebba, where no Italiote rf. has been found, points to his having been an Athenian, as suggested in *Metz. Mus. St.*, in spite of his provincial style. P. 73, cup: isn't this one of Busiris' servanta rather than the king himself? The thing in the field is a bundle of spits. Manner of the Brygos painter. P. 75, cup by the painter of Tarquinia RC 1121 (see *Camp. Fr.* p. 30 on pl. D, 2); replica on his cup in Manchester, *JHS* 54, p. 209; cf. also Heidelberg 160 (Kraiker, pl. 24). Another cup by him from Valle Trebba is figured in *NdS* 1927, pl. 21, 1 (cf. l.c.). Pp. 77-9, column-krater by the painter of the Brussels oinochoai: Laurenzi (*St. Etr.* 2, p. 693) has already compared it with the column-krater by that artist in Bologna. Also by him the volute-krater *NdS* 1927, p. 187. P. 81, calyx-krater by the same painter as a hydria in Goluchow (*CV*, pl. 20, 1; see *JHS* 52, p. 142). Pp. 83-5, by the Iliupersis painter (late phase of the Tyzkiewicz painter): in handles and ornament this panathenaic amphora goes with Bologna 154, which is not, however, by the same painter. P. 87, 1, bf. hydria; cf. the Würzburg oinochoe 352 (Langlotz, pl. 104; see *JHS* 54, p. 91). P. 87, 2 (and pp. ix and 89), neck-pelike of a rare shape: likeliest, the bf. vases in Eton (Tillyard, *Hope*, pl. 5, 29) and New York (Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, fig. 32). The fine lion and lioness are by the Berlin painter; cf. *Berl. Master*, pl. 12 and p. 13. For

lion and lioness on the neck of a vase cf. the neck-ampora Leningrad inv. 262 (St. 1595). P. 87, 3, bf. oinochoe of the Athena painter's shape (H.). P. 89, see on p. 87, 2. Pp. 91-3, pelike by the Pan painter (*Pan-Maler*, p. 23, no. 33). P. 95, column-krater by the Kephalos painter. P. 97, terracottas and plastic vases: A. states on p. 54 that 'trade relations between Spina and Greece were the exclusive monopoly of Attic merchants,' but even though the vast majority of the imported vases were Attic, how can we tell that they all reached Spina in Attic bottoms? and not all the imports from Greece were Attic: of the terracottas on this plate, the 'mask,' i, 3, the seated satyr, iii, 4, and the seated goddess, iii, 7, are not Attic, but East Greek, doubtless Rhodian (cf., to give only a few examples, *Clara Rhodos*, 3 p. 127, 4 pp. 118 and 296 for the 'mask'; *ibid.*, 4, pp. 148 and 196, or Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, pls. 108-9, for the satyr; *Cl. Rh.* 3, p. 127, and 4, p. 208, Blinkenberg, pl. 102, 2219, for the goddess); the tortoise (iii, 5) may be Rhodian too (see *Cl. Rh.* 4, p. 208, and Blinkenberg, pl. 114), the doll (iii, 3) (see *Cl. Rh.* 4, p. 214), possibly even the dove and the pomegranate: see also on p. 105. P. 97, the bull ii, 1 (p. 111, *NdS* 1927, pl. 13, 2, and *AA* 1928, p. 134, fig. 12), the bull ii, 2 (apparently = *NdS* 1924, pl. 13, 5, *Dedalo*, 5, p. 408, *AA* 1926, p. 35, but differently restored), the fallow-deer ii, 3 (p. 99; *NdS* 1924, pl. 13, 1; *Dedalo*, 5, p. 413), the bull ii, 4 (*NdS* 1924, pl. 13, 4; *Dedalo*, 5, p. 409), and the panther iii, 6, are from a single fourth-century fabric, doubtless Etruscan; another panther in the same style, from Tarquinia, is in the British Museum, 73. 8-20, 592. The fawn ii, 5 is also Etruscan: similar fawns in the Louvre (H 176) and, from Populonia, in Florence (*NdS* 1905, p. 58, below, middle); cf. also the vase from Comacchio published in *NdS* 1924, pl. 13, 2, and *Dedalo*, 5, p. 411. P. 99, see on p. 97, ii, 3. Of the plastic head-vases on p. 101, the upper row and the third and fifth in the lower are Attic, the other three Etruscan. ii, 1 (also p. 102 and *RPI* p. 44) and ii, 2 (also p. 103) belong to the class of Etruscan head-vases studied by Albizzati in *Atti Pont. Acc.* 14, pp. 221-32, and so may the smaller vase ii, 4 (*NdS* 1927, p. 169). For the Attic head-vases see my *Charinos* in *JHS* 49: i, 1 (p. 179, i, 6) belongs to my group J: i, 2 (*NdS* 1924, pl. 13, 3) and ii, 3 to group G (see also *JHS* 55, p. 91); i, 3-5 to group N: ii, 5 to group O. P. 102, see on p. 101, ii, 1. P. 103, see on p. 101, ii, 2. P. 105, i, 1 is the Eastern Greek, probably Rhodian vase mentioned by Negrioli in *NdS* 1927, p. 158. When Attic import

dies out at Valle Trebbia in the course of the fourth century, its place is partly taken by an Italian fabric of which specimens are given on pp. 105-13: on this see Negrioli in *NdS* 1924, pp. 289-93. P. 111, i, 3: another, *NdS* 1924, p. 292, above: see Negrioli. P. 123, lekaneis with common fourth-century decoration, cf. especially one in Naples (*ML* 22, p. 679) and one from Montefortino (*ML* 9, pl. 12, 7). P. 125, 1-4, fish-plates: for the lowest fish in 1-3 cf. the fish-plate *Olynthos*, 5, pl. 113; for the left-hand fish in 4 the fish-plate *CR* 1876, pl. 5, 12-13: A. must be right in calling the Ferrara plates Attic. The phialai p. 125, 5-6, look Etruscan. P. 126, i, 3: there are replicas of this Attic oinochoe in Rhodes (1309: *Cl. Rh.* 4, p. 252, 2) and London (64. 10-7, 1658), both from Camiros. P. 126, ii, 3 should also be Attic, and perhaps i, 1, iii, 1 is of 'Gnathia' fabric; another is figured in *NdS* 1927, p. 148, 2; a third was sold, as from Comacchio, at Sotheby's in 1928: Cambridge 263 (*CV* pl. 43, 29) is a fourth. Negrioli had already noticed that one of the Ferrara alabastra, and two small jugs found with it, were 'Gnathian' (*NdS* 1927, p. 148); so, I think, is p. 126, iii, 2; and p. 126, ii, 2 and iii, 4 may be, for some of the vases of these types are. A. goes too far, therefore, though only a trifle, when he denies all export of vases from Apulia to Spina (pp. 104 and 124).

P. 127 is figured in *NdS* 1904, p. 299; and in *Dedalo*, 5, p. 402, where it is said to belong to the 'so-called Etrusco-Campanian fabric': Negrioli saw that it was Greek, and it must be Attic—compare *Olynthos*, 5, pl. 153, 559: so must ii, 1 and ii, 3 on p. 139. The ram's head rhyton p. 129 (and pp. v, 1, and 53; *NdS* 1924, pl. 14, 3; *Dedalo*, 5, pl. at p. 401 and pp. 403-5; *AA* 1926, p. 34; *RPI* 1928, p. 43, above) is evidently a favourite, perhaps because of its ugly shape (see *V. Pol.* p. 24): the pictures are by the Eretria painter. The mule-head rhyton p. 131 (and *NdS* 1927, pl. 17, 1, *AA* 1928, p. 134, fig. 11) is of the same period. P. 133, cup: cf. the Fauvel cup Stackelberg pl. 37, 1-3 and the cup-fr. Agora P. 1424, to be published in *Hesperia*, with other cups in the same style, by Miss Talcott. P. 135, cup with the death of Cassandra: this reminded me of the Mykonos cup *Δατ.* 12, pl. 9-10, and the lid (not the receptacle, which is by the Marlay painter) of the London pyxis *JHS* 41, pl. 6. P. 137, cup: the animal is a fawn, not a goat; the youth is surely Apollo, and there is no thought of sacrifice: recalls the Aberdeen painter (*CV* Oxford, p. 108, and *CF* p. 31, on pl. E, B 8). P. 139, ii, 1 and 5, see on p. 127. P. 139, ii, 4, kotyle:

'fat-boy' style (see *CV* Oxford, p. 34, on pl. 42, 3): cf. Robinson *Olynthos* 5 pl. 98. P. 139, iii, 3-4: more glass from the site, *NdS* 1924, p. 302. Pp. 141-5 (and pp. xvii and i): A. rightly compares this volute-krater with a vase of the same shape in Bologna, 273: it is by the same artist, the Boreas painter. P. 147, 2: Marathon workshop, cf. especially *CV* Athens III H, pl. 10, 2 (H.). P. 147, 3 (and p. 149; *NdS* 1927, pl. 16; *Ad* 1928, p. 131; *RPI* p. 42, 1; Philippart, *Bacchantes*, pl. 4, b), bell-krater by the Altamura painter. P. 149, see on p. 147, 3. Pp. 151-5, volute-krater: also by the Altamura painter, as A. is inclined to think. P. 159, column-krater by the Hephaistos painter (painter of the Naples Hephaistos). P. 159, column-krater by the painter of the Florence centaureomachy. P. 161, i, 1 and 5: Attic stemmed plates like these are remarkably common on the site:—with heads, p. 167, p. 225, p. 231; with wheels, p. 167, p. 193, p. 207; with borders only, p. 201, p. 207, p. 237—I assume that most of these plates are stemmed. A head-plate from Cornacchio is in the British Museum (where it passes as Etruscan instead of Attic); another, in Würzburg, is published by Langlotz (pl. 245, 870), who calls it, wrongly I think, Apulian; the only other head-plates or wheel-plates I know are Bologna 570 and 571 (heads) and 572 (wheel); but two fr. in the Louvre (fr. Cp. 1567 and 1370) may be from such. P. 161, i, 4, oinochoe: 'fat-boy' style or near, see on p. 139, ii, 4. P. 161, i, 2, not far from the last. Pp. 163-5, calyx-krater by the Achilles painter: the inscription looks odd, having been painted up by the restorer (cf. *NdS* 1927, pp. 146 and 188). P. 167, middle (and pp. 169-71; *RPI* pp. 34-5; *Metz. Mus. St.* 5, p. 129; Webster, *Niobiden-Maler*, pl. 16), calyx-krater by the Niobid painter. P. 167, for the plates see on p. 161, i, 1. Pp. 169-71, see on p. 167. P. 175, calyx-krater: near the painter of the Petrograd Amazonomachy. The calyx-krater p. 177, like the volute-krater with the same subject in Bologna (268; *Mon.* 11, pl. 14-15), is an early work of the Niobid painter. P. 179, i, 3, volute-krater, see on p. 181. P. 179, i, 4 and 6: both head-vases belong to my group J, see on p. 101, where the right-hand one is figured. P. 179, i, 7: I saw a calyx-krater with this subject by the painter of the Petrograd Amazonomachy, and this may be it. For the plates on p. 179, see on p. 161. Pp. 181-5 (and p. 179, i, 3, *Mem. Am. Ac.* 6, pl. 22; *RPI* p. 43, 5), volute-krater: group of Polygnotos: it recalls the Hector painter, but also the Robinson bell-krater *Sammlung Loebbecke*,

pl. 3, 458. A. supposes the partner of Dionysos to be Hekate: he reads the inscriptions as X.OE and KAOE, the first being a mutilated version of 'Ιαχϋος, the second a garbled version of 'Εστία. I have got the first inscription down as X.OE, but lay no stress on a note made some time after seeing the vase; the second reads KAOE, with nothing, I think, missing. I took this for an ill-written *κατα*, with a bad lambda; the other inscription for a garbled *κατα*; and the paredros of Dionysos for Semele, perhaps, rather than Hekate, comparing an inscribed cup in Naples (*Bull. Nap.* n.s. 6, pl. 13), and remembering the end of the fragmentary Homeric hymn to Dionysos. P. 189, bronze candelabrum: A. thinks that the dancer is wearing a kind of sweater over her chiton, and so Minto in speaking of a somewhat similar dancer from Orvieto (*NdS* 1934, p. 80), but is it not the upper part of her chiton? P. 193: for the plates see on p. 161. P. 193, the calyx-krater, see on p. 195. P. 193, right, above, cup by the Calliope painter. Pp. 195-9 (and p. 193 and *RPI* p. 41): calyx-krater by the painter of the Petrograd Amazonomachy (see *Eos*, 34, p. 245), his masterpiece. A. says that Kore is 'here called Hekate,' but it is surely Hekate, not Kore; cf. the London hydria E 183 (*Mon.* 1, pl. 4; *CV* pl. 84, 2). P. 201, for the plates see on p. 161. P. 201, i, 4, see on p. 203. This tomb contained eight little Attic dishes decorated with amphorae, wheels, dolphins, in silhouette; another is figured on p. 11; and a tenth, sold at Sotheby's as from Cornacchio, is now in Oxford (see *CV* Oxford, p. 117, on pl. 64, 9). Adria is the chief site for these after Cornacchio: two of the Adria are figured by Schoene (pl. 20, 22 and pl. 22, 2). Others are mentioned in *CV* Oxford, l.c.; Mr. J. W. Lawrence has a fr. of one from Populonia. P. 201, ii, 3 and 5: 3 is figured in *NdS* 1927, pl. 17, 2: a third oinochoe of this uncommon shape, with the same design, a flying bird of prey, was sold at Sotheby's in 1928 as from Cornacchio. P. 201, ii, 4, oinochoe by the Shuvalov painter. P. 203 (and p. 201, i, 4, and *RPI* p. 43, below, left): neck-amphora by the painter of the Petrograd Amazonomachy, finer than his London vase of the same shape. P. 205 (and, in part, *NdS* 1927, pl. 19, 2), fr. of a noble volute-krater with scene or scenes from the Argonautica: it belongs to the group of Polygnotos, and A. notices the resemblance to the calyx-krater p. 195, which we have assigned to the painter of the Petrograd Amazonomachy. P. 207, for the plates see on p. 161. P. 207, middle, and pp. 209-11 (*RPI* p. 38, and Casson, *Technique*, fig.

29), a wonderful volute-krater by Polion (on the painter see *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 24, pp. 107-10). The 'Return of Hephaistos' has novel features: Hera sits on the magic throne with toes turned right out, just as Hephaistos does on his donkey in the François vase; there the attitude shows Hephaistos' lameness; here it emphasises the appropriateness of Hephaistos' revenge: Hera disliked him for his lameness; he retaliates by making her legs useless. Another novelty is the siren (not 'harpy') who holds the fan for Hera: she no doubt went with the throne, was made by Hephaistos and formed part of his present: for sirens connected with Hera see Paus. 9, 34, 3. P. 213, middle, and pp. xiii, 53, and 215-9 (*RPI* pp. 39-40; the neck-picture B. *ML* 33, pl. 1-3, and p. 6, and *RM* 47, p. 124), volute-krater with the Seven against Thebes and other notable pictures: the artist belongs to the school of the Niobid painter, and we have another vase by him, the volute-krater Bologna 279 (Pfuhl, fig. 508). Messerschmidt (*RM* l.c.) ingeniously supposes that stage-wings, *παρορνθία*, are represented in the 'anodos' picture on the neck: against this, perhaps, that the same upright occurs in the Busiris picture on the other side of the neck (cutting off part of the right-hand figure); and in the neck-picture on a contemporary volute-krater in New York (*FR* pl. 116). The man with the torches seems to be wearing a short chiton with a poikilon over it: this does not characterise him as 'workman or wanderer,' for it is worn, to give one example, by the Archon Basileus on the neck of Polion's vase (p. 207). The man may be Dionysos, see *CF* Oxford, p. 122, on pl. 66, 40. Pp. 221-5, calyx-krater with Iphigenia in Tauris, well published by A. in *Dedalo*, 12, pp. 411-21 (also *Ad* 1932, p. 458): A. saw that it was Attic, of the early fourth century, and I am sorry to find Mr. Philippart (*Coll. de céram. gr. en Italie*, ii, p. 85) correcting A. and asserting it to be 'not Attic but Attico-Italote' (Philippart, pl. 13, 2, *JdI* 34, p. 133, is also Attic). By the same hand as the Iphigenia vase, a bell-krater fr. in Heidelberg (231, Kraiker pl. 46). P. 225: for the plates see on p. 161. P. 225, ii, 7, bf. lekkythos: Marathon group, cf. p. 147 (H.). P. 225, iii, 2, oinochoe, Dionysos and satyr; also pp. 52 and 229, and *NdS* 1927, pl. 21, 2: the date should be somewhere about 400. P. 225, middle (and p. 227, *NdS* 1927, pl. 15, *Ad* 1928, p. 130, fig. 8), hydria by Polygnotos (*V. Pol.* p. 81): the presence of Pelops at the pursuit of Thetis by Peleus is strange: such hydriai never have two subjects in one frieze.

P. 229, see p. 225, iii, 2. P. 231, for the plates see p. 161. P. 231, ii, 1 (and p. 235), oinochoe by the Shuvalov painter. P. 231, ii, 4, oinochoe by the Eretria painter. P. 235, see on p. 231, ii, 1. P. 237, i, 1 and 5, cf. Bologna 578 (Zannoni pl. 38, 9). P. 237, i, 3 (and *NdS* 1927, pl. 20), a good bell-krater by Polygnotos (*V. Pol.* p. 81): on the inscription *Πειρασος* see *Ad* 1929, p. 366. P. 237, for the plates see on p. 161. P. 239, bell-krater by the Clio painter. P. 240, from an oinochoe, shape 4, by the Shuvalov painter, with Perseus pursued.

Of the few vases published elsewhere and not here, let us add the following to those mentioned above:—The calyx-krater fr. *NdS* 1927, pl. 19, 1 has a replica, as Negrioli observed, of the 'Death of Talos' on the Jatta volute-krater (*FR* pl. 38-39) and is close to it in style. There is a column-krater by the Cleveland painter in Ferrara, with the death of Kaineus; but I was wrong (*Pan-Maler*, p. 19) in identifying it with the Kaineus vase figured in *NdS* 1924, p. 287, which is later. The oinochoe *NdS* 1927, p. 156, is no. 332 in Schefold's *Untersuchungen*, p. 37: the pelike of early Kerch style, *NdS* 1927, p. 155, is his no. 349; the pelike of full Kerch style, *NdS* 1924, p. 290, his no. 350, is the latest Attic vase published from the site. The fourth-century Etruscan duck-askos *NdS* 1927, pl. 17, 1, belongs to a class of which the finest is in the British Museum (G. 151, Panofka, *Pontalis*, pl. 39): see Albizzati in *RM* 30, p. 152, who cites three in Florence; others, *ML* 24, p. 11, fig. 3, 7, *NdS* 1932, p. 96, *St. Etr.* 9, pl. 41, 5, five in the Louvre (H 97-101), one in the Cabinet des Médailles, and two formerly in the Bourguignon collection, one from Città di Pieve, the other from Orvieto (*Vente 18 mars 1901*, pl. 5, 78 and 81).

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Pologne, fascicule 2: Collections de Cracovie.

By K. BULAS. Pp. 70: 42 plates. Cracow: Académie Polonaise, 1935. 40 zł.

There are fewer good pieces in the second Polish instalment than in the first; but the Cracow vases are many and varied, and Dr. Bulas's descriptions, as before, shew knowledge and care.

Czartoryski Museum. The hydria pl. 3, 10 belongs to a group of vases, contemporary with early Lydos, which cluster round the Louvre hydria F 6 (*CF* Louvre, III, He, pl. 39, 1-2). The 'Siana' cup pl. 4, 3 is surely restored? the himation, for example, does not make sense. Pl. 5, 3: cf. the small neck-amphora Munich 1502 A (*J* 478: A, Gerhard, *AV* pl.

205, 1-2). Pl. 8, 2: I think one can say from the photographs that no ancient work is visible on this cup at present: it is quite possible that ancient drawing lies under the modern drawing, somewhat like that of the Colmar painter's cup in Vienna (von Lücken, pl. 97), or the early Macromian cup Munich 2644). Pl. 9, 1: in *Campana Fragments*, p. 34, no. 21, I shewed that some of the missing fragments of this cup were in the Villa Giulia. Pl. 10, 2: sorry to say that the drawing of this in *Vases in Poland*, pl. 7, is reversed. Pl. 11, 2: I did not attribute this vase to the Meletes painter (*V. Pol.* 50): I said it was 'related': in general, Dr. Bulas, unlike most of the contributors to the *Corpus*, quotes accurately. Pl. 13, 2: Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, no. 153 and fig. 78. Pl. 15, 4-5: another replica of this pair of Etruscan bucchero vases is in Hamburg (*St. Etr.* 9, pl. 49, 17, and p. 319; the lower part alien, see von Mercklin, *id.*): cf. also a hydria in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg (*Bildtafeln des Etr. Mus.* pl. 39): the 'tresses' of the head on the neck of our vase should be a pair of 'sigrettes' such as sphinxes and others wear (Laconian, Pfuhl, fig. 194).

University. Pl. 10, 6 is discussed in *V. Pol.* p. 70. Pl. 11, 5 is by the Achilles painter (*V. Pol.* p. 49). Pl. 12, 9-10 and pl. 13, 1-2 are headed 'Italiote vases of the rf. Attic style'—not much of a category; pl. 12, 9 is typically Italiote; pl. 12, 10 is Attic ('fat-boy' style, see *CV* Oxford, p. 34, on pl. 42, 5: the things held are discs and aryballos); pl. 13, 1 is not Italiote, but of a barbarous, perhaps Campanian, fabric discussed in *BSR* 11, p. 29, as well as in *V. Pol.* p. 77; pl. 13, 2 must be Attic.

Archaeological Museum. Pl. 4, 8: repainted? Pl. 4, 17: the foot alien?

J. D. B.

Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum: Ein Bilderatlas epigraphischer Denkmäler Attikas. Ed. J. KIRCHNER. Pp. xii + 30; 34 plates. Berlin: Gebr. Mann. 1935. 42 m.

Nobody could be better qualified than Professor Kirchner to prepare a volume of photographs to illustrate the historical development of Attic inscriptions from the earliest times down to the sixth century of our era; and the present work, alike in form and content, provides an admirable supplement to the stately row of volumes of the *Editio Minor* of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, in which, under his devoted and untiring care, the collection of all the Attic inscriptions is rapidly approaching completion. His difficulty has consisted rather in choosing what to leave

out than what to include, and he has wisely insisted in the first place that the inscriptions reproduced should be if possible exactly datable, except in the case of those which form our sole evidence for the earliest stages in their development, for only on such a foundation can accurate knowledge either of the evolution of the script, or of the changes of formulae in public documents, be securely based. We are given upwards of 150 items, on 54 plates, and rather more than half the total belong to the period after 300 B.C., for those of the fifth century or earlier number 40 and the fourth century is represented by 31. No one, we imagine, will be disposed to regret this basis of division, for not only do we need more guidance for the history of the letter-forms in Hellenistic times, but we are already better provided with illustrations of fifth-century documents, thanks to Kern's *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Marcus and Weber, Bonn, 1913), and the excellent reproductions in Professor Meritt's monographs. Nevertheless, whilst readily admitting that no two readers would ask for exactly the same selection, it might be felt that thirty-four was a rather generous allowance for the period from Actium onwards, in view of the comprehensive nature of Graindor's *Album* of Attic Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (Gand, 1924), and that one or two additions to the earliest section would have been welcome, particularly if they illustrated the numeral notation, for which we have only a small piece of a tribute-list. Of the forty items in this section, nineteen are inscribed on vases or ostraka, and it starts, as it should, with the 'Dancer's Vase,' of which two admirable photographs shew the complete text. (It will be noted that the editor does not follow the version of the last words published in *I.G.* 1², 919, το τόδ' αὖτε μὲν, but leaves the reading uncertain. The photograph does not seem to confirm the *delta* of τόδε, but shews a letter which might be *lambda* or *nu*, and the last four symbols look like *αυν*. Is it possible that the long-sought solution to the riddle is τῶτον (*καρὸν* [19] written carelessly as *καμν*?) On Pl. 9 the new fragment (from the Agora) of the Marathon-epigram is given along with the old one, and the reproduction of some of the newly-found ostraka gives welcome proof of the editor's inclusion of recent finds. His bibliographical references are, where possible, restricted to the *Editio Minor*, though Ferguson's *Tribal Cycles* is quoted for the dating of some of the third-century Archons. We note one omission—Koerte's discussion of No. 45, and his confident identification of this list as the casualty-record of Arginusae (*Phil. Woch.*, *Poland Festschr.*

(1932), pp. 83 ff.), which should have led the Editor to include it as a document dated for certain in 406 B.C.

In conclusion, it is a privilege to thank Professor Kirchner for this further contribution to Attic Epigraphy, and to assure him that epigraphists of all stages of experience, and, let us hope, some new-comers to the science as well, will study these excellent photographs with pleasure and profit, and will appreciate the concise but helpful notes which he appends on letter-forms, whether characteristic or unusual. There could be no better ocular introduction to the study of all the most important classes of Attic documents.

A. M. W.

Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio FRIDERICI HALBHERR collectae. I. Tituli Cretae mediae praeter Gortynios, curavit MARGARITA GUARDUCCI. [R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.] Pp. xv + 356. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935. 220 l.

The regretted death of Federico Halbherr in 1930 seemed at first a fatal obstacle to the progress of the Corpus of Cretan inscriptions, for which he had been diligently accumulating material for nearly fifty years, beginning auspiciously with his discovery of the famous Gortyn Code in 1884. Fortunately, however, as the preface to the present publication informs us, a willing successor was found in Dr. Margherita Guarducci, to whom were entrusted both the material collected by Halbherr and the responsible task of editing the complete Corpus of Cretan inscriptions, both Greek and Latin. The present instalment, which comprises about half of her undertaking, shews, moreover, that she is excellently qualified for this exacting duty.

The publication, which resembles in size the *Editio Minus of Inscriptiones Graecae*, is printed on a stout and slightly glazed paper; and as it provides, wherever possible, a facsimile as well as a transcript of every text found on Cretan soil, it enables the half-tone blocks, either of the actual stones or of squeezes, to accompany the text, instead of being relegated to the end of the volume. As a result of the wise decision to divide the whole work into two volumes of manageable size, the first part gives us the texts from all the sites in central Crete, except Gortyn; thus it covers the region between the Gulf of Mirabello in the east (though excluding Hierapytna) and the massif of Mt. Ida on the west. Thirty sites are included, yielding a total of about 650 texts, of which approximately fifty are Latin and another fifty are on small

objects, such as lamps, sherds and sling-stones. In addition, the editor prints in full the texts of about twenty documents, set up in other cities of the Greek world, such as Delos, Teos, Miletus, etc., which relate to sites included in this volume.

The arrangement of the material leaves nothing to be desired. The sites are dealt with in alphabetical order, and the inscriptions from each are preceded by concise summaries of information on the topography, history, coins and religion of the city concerned, together with a full bibliography of all authorities ancient and modern. Each text has critical notes, where needed, and a Latin commentary, and there are full indices of names and places; but for the remaining indices we must await the completion of the work. The accuracy of the printing adds to the ease and pleasure of consulting the volume; the following trifling *errata* are all that a careful reading has detected: p. 128, col. 1, 10 lines from foot, a square bracket (I) is reversed; p. 142, No. 32, l. 2, V should be Y; p. 193, No. 17, l. 5, for ϕ read ϕ ; p. 271, l. 66, $\lambda\phi\alpha\nu$ should be $\lambda\phi\omega$; p. 293, col. 1, the h in Bechtel's name has been misplaced. The rich and varied contents include but few unpublished texts of importance, and their value rather consists in the concentration in one volume, and the careful revision, of a mass of material hitherto scattered through an immense number of books and periodicals, printed in many languages and often difficult of access. Not only have many texts in the Cretan dialect come to light since Blass published the Cretan section of *SGDI*, but those in *koine* and in Latin, which did not concern him, form a substantial portion of the volume. Full justice is done to the principal documents of linguistic or historical importance, and we may perhaps call special attention to the careful collation and editing of the difficult text of the Lato-Olous treaty, extracted not so many years ago from a wall of the Basilica of St. Mark at Venice. That the editor's own interests lie mainly in the domain of Hellenistic Epigraphy has already been revealed by her scholarly contributions to *Historia* and other Italian periodicals, but this conveys no reflexion on the care and learning which she has devoted to the other contents of this volume. Nevertheless, the reviewer has ventured to offer a few suggestions, mostly concerning documents of the Imperial Age, where Dr. Guarducci's editing has left room for improvement in decipherment or interpretation.

P. 18 f., No. 23. This interesting document, hitherto unpublished, contains a list of payments for, or contributions in cash towards, a Dionysiac

P. 191, No. 12, ll. 6-7. Instead of τῷ ἱερ(ε)ῖ μνηστέον ΚΩΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΣ we should, of course, read τῷ ἱερ(ε)ῖ μνηστέον χρηματῶν [υλαιοῖ]. Cf. the use of this epithet with πόρος at Thermon (Syll.³ 554, l. 21).

P. 205, No. 56. We may confidently advance a stage or two further than the editor in emending Spratt's blundered copy of this statue-base from Lyrkos, reading in ll. 6 ff.

καὶ ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑΙΟΝ καὶ Πανέλληνας ἀπὸ
ΤΙΧΩΝΤΑΙΟΙΣΥΝ π(ο)σ(ω)ν(ο)τῶν(ο)ν συ(ν)ε-
ΡΙΟΥ Μάρκος Ἰούνα + [δ]ρίου, κτλ.
105 Σαπτήριος, κτλ.

The name of the recipient of the statue, Pardalianos (cf. l. 4), must consequently be added to the list of Πανέλληνες compiled by Tod (JHS 1922, 173 ff.). It should be noted that Graindor, in his more recent discussion of the subject (*Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 102 ff.), has not added to his list of Panhellenes two Spartan names (BSA xxvii, pp. 234, 1 F4, and 239, 31) which came to light after Tod's article was published. We now have, therefore, the first recorded Cretan member of the association. ('Α)γ(ο)τῶν might be a simpler restoration for the epithet, but σινετῶν is the more likely, as the members are on one occasion styled οἱ σινετῶτες Πανέλληνες: in no text is the epithet of the association as such preserved.

P. 215, No. 114. This epitaph is not as obscure as the editor makes it. We should surely read Κ(α)νθ(ε)α Φύλου | νεῖ Κ(α)νθ(ε)α Πανφίλ(η), κ(α)ὶ Ἀφροδισία (δ)ν(α) | μνήμης [χόρου], interpreting the monument as erected by the first-named to Cl. Panphile and Aphrodisia, daughter of Aphrodisia.

P. 218, No. 134. "Quid nota ultimi versus significet, incertum." Ed. This symbol (¥) is obviously, as the sense requires, for γ(α)ν(α).

P. 222, No. 161. This epitaph, in spite of the inaccuracies of Spratt's copy, can be made more intelligible. In ll. 4 ff. the editor stops short with the following reading: καὶ Κλησιπ(ι)πος ΦΑΕΩΙΕ | - - ΟΚΛΕΠΩΠ | ΚΥΗ τῷ πετρ(ι) μνήμης χάριν. It is obvious that in ΚΥΗ we have the remains of [γαν] κοτ(α)ν(α), as in p. 223, No. 172, preceded by a name ending in -οκλ(α). We might perhaps complete the name as Φ(α)κ(α)ν(α) (Τ)η(ν)οκλ(α).

P. 225, No. 180. The end of l. 4 should surely be completed as [τ]ροσθε πάντες.

P. 226 ff., No. 188. The editor gives us a revised text of this important Constantinian edict (= CIL III. 12043 = Bruns, *Fontes*, p. 265 ff., No. 94), accompanied by a photograph of a good squeeze. Even now the sense of the first clause is far from clear, but the restorations

proposed, as well as some of the old readings retained, do not agree with the letters visible in the illustration. As this deserves fuller discussion elsewhere, we may merely note that at the end of l. 2 for non in[ia]m we must read non in[ia]ntes, for which there is exactly space, and in ll. 3-4, instead of - - - accusatorem in[ia]ntem, read - - - ad accusatorem in[ia]ntem pr[ocedere(?)]. GENDUMPR is indeed a long way from nonnante, and it is hard to see how it has been misread.

P. 254, No. 8. In l. 7 it seems much simpler to read χορογράφος τὰ ἔξω [τῷ θεῷ], instead of making a name Τεφύλας (= Τεφύλας), and depriving the participle of its object.

P. 255, No. 10, l. 3. Why not ἀδ[ελφ]ο- -? We may at least agree with the editor in her comment, "Num de Telphusa cogitandum sit - - valde dubium."

P. 284 f., No. 2 (= SGD I. 5089). This curious text, which Blass thought to be incomplete, is shewn by the photograph to be complete and undamaged. The editor prints it as Ἐπαμειβη | κοτῶν Ἀμαρ | Μάρκος ὁ κατὰ τοὺς Στραπαιμένης Σωμ(α)ν(α), and expresses justifiable hesitation over the name Ἀμαρ. On the photograph, however, the fourth word looks much more like ΜΑΤΙΩ, and it is tempting to read the third and fourth words as δὲ ὁρατῶν. Moreover, the editor, who follows Blass, may be mistaken in saying "κατὰ τοὺς idem est quid καταπῶν (fussor)." Though καταπῶν is apparently unknown, it might perfectly well mean 'he who looks after the κατῶν,' which means, according to Xenarchos, a chariot in Thessalian, or (according to Hesychius) a manger. This points to our interpreting the document as 'Strapsaimenes son of Somenos the groom (?) looked after the stalls and the little car.'

P. 292, No. 2. It seems as if the editor had made a mountain out of a molehill in restoring this curious epigram, for she seeks to make it into two elegiac couplets, in each of which the pentameter comes first, and the second pentameter presents, as she says, "exitum abnormem." The stone is apparently complete on the left, and the poem surely consists of two hexameters only, both rather shaky in scansion and grammar, as follows:

Μόδω δ' ὅτερος [α]ν(α) | μνήμης δέκουθ' [δ]τι ἄδ[ελφ]ο |
Τῆς θανάτου κατὰ [τ]η(ν) [π]ῶς [α]ν(α)λλήσιος ἱδ[ρ]α[ς].

By reading Θ[ε]τι in l. 2 the editor sees a comparison of the deceased with Achilles, but the damaged portion of the stele after the *theta* may just as likely conceal an *omikron*. If δέκουθ' is correctly read, it is no doubt for δέκνται, in spite of the error of scansion involved. After [τ]η(ν) [π]ῶς the enigmatic letters α are presumably due to

ditto-graphy, Halbherr's reading $\Delta\Upsilon$ being a misreading of $\delta\Upsilon$. Below the epigram we must accordingly read $\epsilon\delta\epsilon$ | [$\chi\alpha\iota\pi$] in place of [$\chi\alpha\iota\pi$] $\epsilon\delta\epsilon$.

P. 304 f., No. 1. It seems impossible to restore this text in full, but with the aid of a few suggestions the contents can be made rather more intelligible. Ll. 16 ff. --- [$\lambda\chi$]υροποιαν | προηγου(ν)τος καὶ ἡμῶν (?) καὶ ἡ | παλαιῶν [δ]τι οἱ $\chi\omega\delta\alpha\iota$ οἱ | Διὸς Σκοῦ/Μου μ. - (10) - - τῆς τοῦ ἡ | ποῦ πα - (9) - - ο | ἀπὸ Γορτυνίου ὅ[] (participle) - ω | ν ἐξηγοραῶ | ναί | καὶ | κωλύοντες (?) τῆς κατοχῆς | αὐτοῦ | - - ἡ | μετὰ | τῆς Με | τ' ἡλίας | αὐτοῦ ἡ | παλαιῶν, ἡ | τοῦ ἐπ' | ἑοῦ Σ[] φαστοῦ | ὡ | τῶν κατὰ τοὺς καὶ (σ)οῖς, καὶ. Though the Υ of [$\lambda\chi$]υροποιαν is partly preserved, the editor prefers to read [$\lambda\pi\sigma$]υροποιαν ('*mix autem potest aliud supplementum conici*'). 'Ἰσχυροποιία seems hitherto unknown to the lexicographers, but that is no reason for rejecting it, as it provides a likely variant for ἰσχυροποιήσις, with the very appropriate meaning, 'asseveration.' After ἰσχυροποιήσις we may confidently substitute εἰσποῖς for her καὶ τοῦ, especially as the photograph shows nothing certain between the two *totas*. The restoration of ll. 20 ff. makes it clear that the sacred domains of Zeus Skulios had been trespassed upon by the men of Gortyn, who claimed to have purchased them, and kept off the persons who claimed the right to have access to them; and the Imperial rescript (ἐπιχρῆμα in l. 15) no doubt refers to previous rulings as to their possession or use. Even now there are many obscurities left, especially in the preamble, as a strip is missing right down the middle of the stele, and the writing is clumsy and in places inaccurately cut. A. M. W.

Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan collection. By L. AMUNDSEN. Part I, Texts. Pp. xx + 232; 8 plates. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935. \$3.50.

Les ostraca grecs de la collection Charles Edwin Wilbour au Musée de Brooklyn. By CLAIRE PRÉAUX. Pp. 123; 2 plates. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1935.

The value of the evidence derived from ostraca depends so largely on the comparison and correlation of these brief and often enigmatic texts that all additions to the published material are welcome; and the contribution made in these two volumes is a substantial one. The first is particularly important, as the collection at Ann Arbor is wholly derived from the Fayûm, and, for the greater part, from scientific excavation of a single site; the first 97 in the volume are a rather miscellaneous lot acquired by purchase, but numbers 98 to 699 come from

Karanis, and full details are given for each ostrakon of the precise conditions in which it was found. Only texts, with brief explanatory notes, are included in this volume, and it is to be hoped that the second volume, which is to furnish Dr. Amundsen's commentary, will follow it soon, as there is clearly much matter for discussion; some of the datings seem to need explanation, though the only slip noted is in regard to no. 149, where η should surely be corrected to ϵ , not to ι . The transcripts, however, inspire confidence that the commentary will be valuable.

The Brooklyn collection is of a more familiar type, as it comes from Thebes, the most plentiful source of ostraca, and Elephantine, which is, though at a long interval, second; and it can be taken as a supplement to the hundreds of texts already published from those centres. Mlle. Préaux has edited her material carefully, and has collected in her notes a good store of parallels and references, which serve to place each document in its proper relation.

J. G. M.

Griechische Verwaltungsurkunden (Papyri Iandanae, fasc. vii). By D. CURSCHMANN. Pp. 92; 4 plates. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1934. 8.60 m.

Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, No. 3: Zenon Papyri, vol. i. By W. L. WESTERMANN and ELIZABETH S. HASENOHRL. Pp. x + 177; 8 plates. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. \$6.

The new part of the Giessen publication contains fourteen selected texts which have been carefully edited with full notes. The most important additions to our information about Roman Egypt are in no. 137, a list of fees chargeable on the transfer of catocic land, and in no. 140, which quotes an edict of the prefect dealing with the rights of the citizens of Antinoë: no. 139 throws some light on the responsibilities of an inspector of dykes, and no. 144 shows the interlinking of the officials of the nomes. The other documents are of more familiar type, but material can be gleaned from most of them.

A further step towards the reconstitution of the 'Zenon archives' has been taken by the publication of the documents belonging to the Columbia collection, more than half of which appear in vol. i: nine of the more important of these have been edited previously, and several are shown to belong to fragmentary papyri in other collections. Though there is nothing particularly novel, except an account of the 'catch' business done by a camel caravan working from Egypt to Sidon, the cumulative

value is considerable, and is enhanced by the notes.

J. G. M.

Études de Papyrologie. Vols. I and II.
Cairo: Société Royale Égyptienne de
Papyrologie, 1932-1934.

The recently-founded Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie, writes its president, Prof. Jouguet, in a preface to the first fasciculus of its *Études*, 'n'a nullement l'intention de créer une Revue nouvelle.' The purpose is primarily to bring before the notice of scholars specially interesting papyri already in the Egyptian collections or hereafter to be added to them; to 'proposer des corrections aux textes déjà connus' and to discuss various problems which arise in the course of work on these papyri; and to publish lectures of outstanding note delivered at Cairo on the subject of papyrology. But furthermore 'nous désirons vivement le concours de tous nos confrères des autres pays.'

So much for the programme. How truly it has so far been carried out may be judged from a list of the articles published up to the present:—W. G. Waddell, 'On the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Philo,' i, pp. 1-6; the same, 'Some Cairo Papyri in P. Oxy. XVI,' pp. 7-9; the same, 'Some Literary Papyri from Oxyrhynchus,' pp. 11-18; K. Preisendanz, 'Mumienamulett auf Papyrus,' pp. 19-22; A. Grohmann, 'Aperçu de papyrologie arabe,' pp. 23-95; A. Gulak, 'Rechtsvergleichende Studien zu Talmud und Papyri,' pp. 97-104; A. E. R. Boak, 'Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum,' ii, pp. 1-22; P. Collart and P. Jouguet, 'Un papyrus ptolémaïque provenant de Deir el-Bahari,' pp. 23-40; Ch. Kuentz, 'À propos des noms propres du papyrus Baraize,' pp. 41-57 (on the preceding papyrus); E. Berner, 'Zu einigen Prozessurkunden der Ptolemäerzeit,' pp. 59-69; Ch. Kuentz, 'Trois termes techniques (Pap. Berl. 8055),' pp. 70-72; A. Deléage, 'Les cadastres antiques jusqu'à Dioclétien,' pp. 73-228; P. Lacau, 'Un graffiti égyptien d'Abydos écrit en lettres grecques,' pp. 229-246.

It will be seen that the range of subject is wide, though every contribution falls fairly within the scope of the publication as defined above; and there is none which does not contain something of substantive value, though the articles vary in scope from mere notes on previously published papyri, like Mr. Waddell's second contribution, to what is virtually an independent treatise, equipped with indices and table of contents, like that of Mr. Deléage. This

important study of ancient cadastration, Prof. Grohmann's summary sketch of Arabic papyrology, and Prof. Boak's publication of Early Byzantine papyri, among which is included a proclamation embodying the tenour of the edict by which Diocletian established his new method of taxation, must rank as the outstanding items in a series which deserves a hearty welcome from papyrologists.

H. I. B.

European Civilization: its origin and development. By various Contributors under the direction of EDWARD EYRE. In seven volumes. Vol. I. **Prehistoric Man and Earliest Known Societies.** Reissue, pp. vi + 844. With 19 maps. Oxford: University Press; and London: Humphrey Milford, 1935.

This first volume of a historical work, conceived on the heroic scale, will be welcomed with the keenest interest. Whether it is yet possible to draw our outlines with the necessary precision is perhaps in doubt. The very attempt is a gallant one, and success, even if not complete, is a remarkable achievement. The work is of varied texture and quality, but nowhere does it fail in purpose and interest.

The story of Primitive Man is discussed by Professor Wilhelm Schmidt. Some of his views, e.g., the belief in a high religious and moral standard in early societies and the denial of what most people still regard as Darwin's theory of Evolution, will certainly provoke controversy. His claim that in prehistory methodical research, and not prejudice, should decide commands immediate respect, even if he himself is not free from bias. Professor J. L. Myres follows with a masterly study of the early cultures of the Nearer East and Mediterranean. Problems of geography, climate, vegetation, and domestication of animals are marshalled in their relation to one another, and the complicated evidence of archaeology is made to obey some kind of system. For the diligent and patient student there is a rich treasury to be explored here. It is a little to be regretted that the wealth of Professor Myres' wisdom and erudition is locked within a style that is often too pregnant, and sometimes really too difficult. On the study of the East by M. Charles F. Jean it is hard to find the right judgment. There is vigour and liveliness in the narrative, a very wide range of knowledge, and a plentiful and apt use of quotation from literature. But the simplification of the story sometimes leads to unsatisfactory results (cp. the account of the

invasion of Greece by Xerxes, p. 418) and the spelling of proper names is often strange, and, occasionally at least, definitely wrong. In a work of this kind it is not just to quarrel over much with faults of detail that are faults of detail only; but in this case the reader becomes a little uncertain about M. Jean's judgment on general matters as well. The last two sections of the book are both admirable. Professor Peet's study of Ancient Egypt is direct and clear, allowing the high points of Egyptian history and culture to emerge into light, but not disguising the enormous gaps in our exact knowledge. Mr. Gomme's study of the Greeks is no less impressive. For the period before the sixth century he can now draw a picture that does not lack definition and colour. We can form some idea of that short-lived bloom of Achaean civilisation that still lives on in the poems of Homer and we can even make reasonable guesses as to how the Achaeans derived from the Minoan culture and gave way in their turn to the Iron Age of the Dorian invasions. The religion of the Homeric Age is interpreted with real insight (pp. 573 ff.); especially valuable is the observation that the deities of worship and belief were something different from those of literature and art—those gods who, as Aristotle said, were merely 'men who do not die.' The later worship of men as gods is interpreted, quite in the modern fashion, but, as the present reviewer believes, quite wrongly, as a mere convention. 'No one, not the simplest of men, thought that Lysander was immortal, nor more immune from harm than other men, nor invincible in battle: he was in no essential different from other men, except in temporal power (p. 389).' This formulation seems to us to put an effective bar in the way of any real understanding of the subject. The great story of Sparta's military glory, of the Persian invasions, of the greatness and decline of Athens, is told with impressive and telling simplicity, backed by a mastery of detailed fact. Athens, we find, commanded and still commands to-day more interest in her historical career than she strictly merits; but how can one alter a verdict on a candidate who can bias all her judges? To Alexander Mr. Gomme tries honestly to do full justice, but his view of Greek history—which is surely a possible, though not inevitable one—forbids him to place Alexander's achievement as high as some would wish.

In conclusion, one general observation is perhaps in place. The most successful parts of this volume are those in which the command of detail is strongest. Does not this suggest that the contrast made in the introduction between

detailed and general view is not quite correctly made? There is indeed a distinction between history written in detail and history written in outline; but how is one to attain to faithfulness in greater judgments, if one has not learned first to be faithful in the less? Where we cut loose from detailed accuracy, we launch on seas of conjecture and uncertainty, where the winds of prejudice drive us headlong. Perhaps there is a method to be learned in detailed research which can be applied by those gifted with the wider vision to their own sphere. On this and similar problems Mr. Eyre's historical epic gives us much food for thought. H. M.

The Ancient World. By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. viii + 388; 8 plates. Cambridge: The University Press, 1935. 7s. 6d.

This interesting book is, as might be expected from its authorship, both full of learning and in continuous touch with the realities of Greek and Roman civilisation. And although it is stated in the preface that nothing more than an outline of Ancient History is presented, Dr. Glover has contrived to make his outline wide in scope and varied in material. These pages embody a singularly vivid conception of the conditions and the problems of the past, with this additional merit, that analogy is constantly being made between the past and the present in which we live. This survey, 'a story of men,' is essentially humanistic in its treatment. Perhaps there may be some who, feeling that all Ancient History is humanistic, will regret that more is not said of the constitutions and government of the states (and particularly the Greek states) with which Dr. Glover deals: for it is surely true that the efforts of politicians to make or mend constitutions form an integral part in the story of human achievement. Criticism may also be made that the survey of the Ancient World during the Roman Empire is much too brief to do justice to a period remarkable both for its general peace and prosperity and for the successful co-ordination of a vast provincial system. But we cannot have everything, and there will be a welcome for a book which constitutes, to some degree, a reply to the criticism, made in Professor Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History*, that the writing of 'universal' histories is being supplanted by works of a specialist nature.

There are but few inaccuracies to which attention may be called. The Athenian coinage which captured a world-market consisted of tetradrachms, not drachmas (p. 239). The models on which the native British coinage was based were, it is true, Greek (p. 259): but it has

recently been demonstrated by the late G. C. Brooke that the Greek 'Philippi' owed their imitation, in both Gaul and Britain, to the immense numbers in which they were thrown upon the western markets of Europe by the Roman conquerors of the Greek East. It is hardly correct to say that Rome had no civil service, 'or next to none, till a century or so after Augustus began to reign' (p. 282). But, apart from such small slips, there is here a mass of material, ably and pleasantly presented, from which all historians of the Ancient World (whether recruits or specialists) will derive benefit.

C. H. V. S.

The Triumph of Athens. By G. J. Cross. Pp. 175. Oxford: The Pen-in-Hand Publishing Co., 1935. 2s. 6d.

The title of this little book is something of a misnomer, since the contents are in fact a series of notes, strung rather too loosely together in chapter-form, on various economic, constitutional and chronological questions of sixth- and fifth-century Greece. Indeed, better use would have been made of the material if the author had been content to arrange it strictly in the form of separate notes, each properly headed, for much of his argument, based as it is on theories derived from vigorous modern research, is helpful and stimulating. His treatment, for instance, of such varied subjects as the productiveness of Greek soil and the influence of Delphi on both home affairs and foreign colonisation, and the dating of controversial problems like the Athenian alliance with Plataea and Pericles' payment of jurors, is to be commended; but, in attempting to combine his controversial notes into a forced unity, he has omitted much that his title would inevitably lead the reader to expect. For example, there is no effort made to discuss, much less throw light on, the difficult but vitally important period of Athenian home affairs from 510 to 480 B.C.; neither Miltiades nor Themistocles is mentioned in this respect, nor is there any reference to the Laurium mines, from which Athens undoubtedly derived great income through her control of the silver-market, nor to anything in Athenian relations with Corinth that may afterwards have helped to cause the Peloponnesian War. Certain statements, moreover, provoke criticism. It will always remain a mystery that, if Cleisthenes introduced ostracism, its first historical occasion occurs so much later. Archaeological evidence suggests that Athens' feud with Aegina was, in 491, more than 15 years old. And, finally, it may be remarked that, if Herodotus cannot be

regarded as an accurate historian of Cleomenes (and to this most would agree), there is no strong reason for regarding him as infallible in his estimate of the numbers of the Persian armament of 480.

C. H. V. S.

Ost und West: Studien zur geschichtlichen Problematik der Antike. By V. EHRENBURG. (Schriften der philos. Fak. der deutschen Universität in Prag, Band 15.) Pp. xii + 235. Brünn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien: R. M. Rohrer, 1935. 7 m.

In this valuable book Professor Ehrenberg has collected a number of papers. In the first, and perhaps best of all, *Universalgeschichte oder Altertumswissenschaft?*, he states his theory of the historian's position: 'Mag es in der Situation einer gewaltig bereicherten und spezialisierten Wissenschaft und der Unvollkommenheit alles Menschlichen liegen, dass schon um des Sprachlichen willen eine wirkliche Universalität für den Einzelnen so gut wie unmöglich geworden ist, so soll man deshalb doch die allzu hohen Trauben noch nicht sauer schimpfen'; and specialist history, or as he would prefer to call it *Individualgeschichte*, must be so treated that it finds its place in world history. This book is an example of such treatment—a series of essays knit together by the problem of the interplay of East and West in antiquity, that is in the Mediterranean and middle-Eastern world from early times to the age of Justinian. *Antiker Orient u. antiker Okzident* deals with the general conception, in an admirable chapter which shews as well how little 'race' has to do with cultural values, and how the Greek colonisation of the Mediterranean paved the way for the concept of a world-order, and the Jewish *diaspora* helped the idea of Christianity as a world-religion. In *Der troische Krieg u. die griechische Einheit* Ehrenberg writes of Homer as the author of the Greek feeling of unity ('Die Ilias ist ein Heldenepos, ihre Taten sind Taten der einzelnen Helden. Aber den tragenden Grund des heroischen Geschehens bildet nicht die Vielheit der Staaten, sondern in einer tiefsten Ebene die Einheit des Volkes'); though I would say rather that Homer is the first expression of that unity, and would not agree that he is 'die eine grosse Instanz von wahrhaft hellenischem Sinn.' Chapter IV, *Das Agonale*, is an excellent treatment of the specially Greek love of the ἀγών—'es ist der Wille zum "Wettkampf an sich" und damit Ausdruck einer grossen Jugendlichkeit, eines gewissermassen knabenhaften Denkens, das zum besonderen Reize des Hellenischen beiträgt und

seltsam absticht von der Altersweisheit des Oters oder der unjugendlichen Mannheit Roms."

Die Generation von Marathon und Alexander der Grosse are more obviously concerned with the clash between East and West. Alexander, the successor not only of Achilles but of Herakles, the representative, one might say too, both of Zeus and of Dionysos, is finely drawn; but the chapter on Marathon I find the weakest in the book. He is not free from the weakness which he can criticise so well in others, of rejecting ancient statements (e.g. about the internal politics of Athens from 510 to 490) as *nachträgliche Konstruktion*, and then building up still newer constructions of his own; and his attempt to give a new explanation for the difference in Greek feeling about Marathon and about Salamis ('Marathon has been quite forgotten in the *Persae*') seems to me far-fetched. Chapter VII, *Sertorius*, describes the character and historical position of this romantic figure; he takes a line independent both of Mommsen and of Berve (the two extremes of admiration and condemnation), but stands much nearer the former. The last chapter, *Die Zeitverle*, is a popular, and excellent, statement.

Ehrenberg is so good a historian that one has a strong desire to argue any point on which one may differ. I find him at times (as in some details of *Das Agonale*) too schematic. But two quotations will be sufficient to show his historical sense, his judgment, a quality as rare as it is delightful to find: 'Das Agonale ist ja in gewissem Sinne eine allgemein-menschliche Eigenschaft, als solche aber historisch uninteressant und bedeutungslos'; and of Herodotus' story of the wooing of Agariste: 'ihre folkloristische Behandlung . . . halte ich für wenig glücklich. Mit diesen Methoden wird wie in der Religionsgeschichte das eigentlich Charakteristische, das Griechische, nur immer wieder verdeckt.'

A. W. G.

Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen:

Studien zum öffentlichen Recht Athens, I.

By U. KAHRESTEDT. (*Göttinger Forschungen*, Heft 4.) Pp. v+370. Stuttgart and Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. 24 m.

This is a further instalment of Kahrstedt's *Griechisches Staatsrecht* whose first volume (*Sparta und seine Symmachie*) was reviewed in this *Journal* in 1926, pp. 293-99. This instalment has many advantages over its predecessor: it is better printed: dropping the authoritative title *Griechisches Staatsrecht*, it no longer challenges us to judge it on Mommsen's standards; and the

publication of this Attic section in small instalments, though Kahrstedt laments it in his preface, is perhaps better suited to what he really has to offer; which is, a series of lively and original hypotheses rather than an authoritative and quasi-final *Gesamtbild*. (The clear realisation of this fact will prevent grave disappointment and clear the ground for a proper appreciation of Kahrstedt's real qualities.) Above all, the comparative abundance of the Attic material saves this instalment from the grosser faults of the Sparta volume: Kahrstedt's admirably concrete and positivist mind was there starved of nourishment and almost compelled to do violence to the evidence: here he revels, his larder well stocked with the detail of IG. I and II, of the Attic Orators, of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle.

Whether the Attic portion does, in fact, contain much more truth than the Spartan is another question. There is certainly not room here to discuss his hypotheses one by one: it would not do justice to the vigour and liveliness of Kahrstedt's consideration of his problems merely to register doubts: and for my part there are many points on which I am not yet ready to form an opinion. I choose one small example where I believe he is in fact wrong: it illustrates a bias towards concrete explanations, which in many other instances is more successful.

On p. 194 he deals with the question of the *mitiles de guerre* and other *ἐδούροισι*. He twice adduces Theramenes' contemptuous but obscure reference (Xen. *Hell.* II. iii. 48) τοὶ δὲ ἀποφύλας δραχμῆς διὰ ἀποδόμενος τῆς πόλεως. He appears to translate this as 'men who through poverty would sell their citizenship for a drachma': he next tacitly identifies them with the *ἐδούροισι*: and thence infers (a) that an *ἐδούροισι* is disfranchised, (b) that he receives his dole in drachmas. This is an adventurous, perhaps brilliant, treatment of a *locus vexatissimus* (though, little as I can understand what Xenophon means, I dare affirm his words cannot mean this): but at best it is a circle,¹ and Kahrstedt quotes it without warning, as if it were real evidence.

This is only one brick in a large structure. But the criticism of this structure must begin with the bricks: unless a far higher proportion

¹ Xenophon does not, of course, mention *ἐδούροισι*, and neither of the two facts which Kahrstedt believes Xenophon to imply is elsewhere recorded of them. For the disfranchisement Kahrstedt further adduces Lysias xxiv. 13 and 22 sq. But the self-evident fact that an *ἐδούροισι* could not be an archon (Lysias says no more) has no bearing on the case.

of them prove solid than I anticipate, criticism of the structure itself will be beside the mark. Meanwhile the book should be read by all serious students of the Athenian constitution. It will always stimulate, and provoke to thought: and it contains in detail much of the sound common sense to be expected of a distinguished pupil of Eduard Meyer.

H. T. W.-G.

The History of Herodotus. The Translation of G. Rawlinson revised and annotated by A. W. LAWRENCE. With nine wood engravings by V. LE CAMPION and a series of new maps by T. POULTON. Pp. xxvi + 778. London: The Nonesuch Press, 1935. 126s.

This is a very beautiful book: a tall, well-shaped page, a noble type for the text; the notes to the bottom and at the side of the text in the ancient fashion, in small italic; good paper. It is so fine a book that it is worth mentioning the few things that (for me) somewhat mar its beauty. The flowerets that mark the beginning of every paragraph are restless; the capital 'æ' diphthong, which occurs not infrequently, with its A normal and the upright stroke of its E, in consequence sloping sharply backward, is ugly and very disturbing to the page. Mr. Le Campion's engravings add to the distinction of the book, though there is some harshness as well as firmness in his drawing, as in the Polymnia, and as a whole they give the impression that nine Muses were too much for his inventiveness; I prefer the Urania of the title-page to the complete design for the eighth book. The maps are well enough drawn, but are very selective and hence misleading in their information; maps of an archaic type are an affectation. The volume is very big and heavy to hold: why not two volumes with the same format? Lastly, the notes are often separated by two or three pages from the text, and are in such small type, that they are difficult to read; which is a pity, for they are very good.

Rawlinson's translation, pruned of its pomp and primness in a thousand places, reads well, though it still has something of that affected simplicity which is common in translations of Herodotus, and is condescending to him, as though he were an intelligent child. And while Mr. Lawrence was about it, he might have corrected some inaccurate or inadequate renderings: e.g. i, 14, 'noble exploit' (αἰὶς ἔργον, which means 'notable' or 'important'); 60 *ad fin.*, 'prostrated themselves' (προσεύχοντο, prostration was not the manner of Greek worship); vi, 129, 'who quite dumbfounded the rest' (κατέχων πολλὸν τοῦ ἄλλου); while i, 30, 'a

life spent in what our people look upon as comfort,' 41, 'no reproach, my friend,' 85, 'Man, do not kill Croesus,' are all in one way or another inadequate. Mr. Lawrence has throughout substituted 'foreigner' for 'barbarian' as a translation of βάρβαρος: I am not convinced of the advantage.

His notes are, as I said, very valuable: often long and detailed, always concise and to the point. They are much fuller on prehistory, geography and anthropology, and on the foreign peoples than on historic Greece; but for that classical students at least will be grateful. He gives references to most recent discoveries and theories, always adequately as far as I can judge and have tested; and the whole gives us just the aid we need for the appreciation of Herodotus' *τοποῖν* abroad. For all that, we might have been given a little more commentary on historic Greece: I looked in vain, for example, for a reference to modern discussions on the numbers of Xerxes' army (and especially to Maurice's article, *JHS* 1, 1930, though there is a reference to his article on Marathon), and the note on v, 69, Cleisthenes' reforms at Athens, is very meagre, with no reference to the simple emendation which saves Herodotus from an elementary blunder. On vi, 125 (Alcmaeonid history) there is no note on the chronological difficulty of the story, on 127 (Pheidon) there is one, but with no suggestion of possible error in the MSS; i, 94, 1 (the Lydians the first to use gold and silver coin): 'since Herodotus limits his statement to "gold" and "silver" coins, he probably refers to Croesus' abandonment of electrum . . . in favour of the separate metals.' Herodotus ought not to mean that, for he knew of Greek silver coinage earlier than Croesus. Here are some mistakes: i, 16, 'Smyrna, when it was captured by the Lydians, was organised on the village system; that is to say, it lost its constitution and was governed by officials who were not elected by the inhabitants' (hardly a correct description of the village system); i, 56, 'the union of Attica shortly before 700, which made it far the largest state in Greece' (Sparta was a good deal larger, Elis and Argos as large); vi, 109, 'By the time of Herodotus . . . the generals [at Athens] were no longer chosen one from each tribe, but elected from the mass of citizens; and to each was assigned a special duty.' And there are some strange statements, as that on i, 17, 'male and female flutes are presumably bass and treble versions of the same octave'; and on i, 80, 'the theory that Aegean religion contained no element of the indecorous rests on the negative evidence of excavation,

which naturally could not be very informative in this respect. Why not? The *orgiastic* element in the worship of the mother-goddess might not be evident on the monuments, though existent in practice; but there is no need to assume this of Aegean religion either. Mr. Lawrence, in stressing the likeness between Aegean and later Asiatic cults, ignores the possibility of similar representations of gods and very different ideas of worship. Occasionally, Mr. Lawrence loses his touch, as when he says in his preface, 'though Herodotus was no pornographer' (as well say, he was no buffoon); occasionally, he is solemnly sententious, as on vi, 122 (Callias allowed his daughters to choose their husbands): 'they would not, of course, have met their husbands.'

But these are small points. It is a fine book, worth possessing and cherishing; an example of scholarship in the old style, embracing much learning.

A. W. G.

The Art of the Logos. By J. A. K. THOMSON. Pp. 246. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1935. 7s. 6d.

This is a slight, pleasant book, in which the author emphasises the debt of Herodotus to the traditional, i.e. unwritten, story-telling of Ionia before his time. The consideration of such story-telling (for instance, that associated with the name of Aesop) Mr. Thomson holds to be essential to the understanding of the great historian's art, and it is to this art that the title of the book refers. To this traditional element, and to the needs of an audience in the strict sense of the word, an audience of listeners, not of readers, Mr. Thomson traces various characteristics of the Herodotean *logoi*, such as their 'proverbial philosophy' (the jealousy of heaven, for instance) and the tendency to repetition in their style; though we are reminded that Herodotus is a marvel of terseness and compression as compared with a mediaeval romancer or most oriental story-tellers. The book is in great part composed of translations of many of the famous stories and an analysis of their methods. The translation is deliberately literal: 'For me,' says Mr. Thomson, 'there can be no Herodotus in modern dress'; and they give the feeling of the original with very fair success. Some small errors have crept in: for instance, Damascus of Siris in *The Wiving of Agariste* has become by a misprint 'Damascus,' and in *The Man Born to be King* (as Mr. Thomson calls the story of the ancestors of the kings of Macedonia) *ἀεὶνον* surely means 'were in exile' from Argos, not 'escaped.'

It may be doubted whether the conclusions of such a study can claim any objective validity, but lovers of Herodotus will find Mr. Thomson's discussions and translations always readable and attractive.

A. R. B.

The Historian Ephorus. By G. L. BARBER. (*Prince Consort Prize Essay, 1934*.) Pp. xii + 190. Cambridge: University Press, 1935. 7s. 6d.

The appearance of this monograph on Ephorus serves as a reminder of how little has survived throughout important tracts of Greek literature; and Mr. Barber earns our gratitude for his well-reasoned account of what can be discovered about an author who, judged by his later influence, was undoubtedly the foremost figure among the fourth-century historians. True, his lack of discrimination in choosing his sources and his surrender to contemporary rhetoric rob Ephorus of any claim to be considered along with Thucydides. But in the conception of his universal history he made a notable step forward, some results of which are to be seen eventually in the work of Polybius.

It is a fault of the subject rather than the author that *Quellenkritik* seems to occupy so large a part of these pages: Ephorus has in the main to be reconstructed before he can be criticised. And this work of reconstruction has been skilfully performed. Wisely, Mr. Barber has refused to involve himself too deeply in the vexed problems of the *Hellenica* of Oxyrhynchus. He is content to shew that while P. and Ephorus cannot be identical, Ephorus undoubtedly used P. as a main source for the years 411 to 394. For the identity of P. he favours Daimachus of Argos, Jacoby's suggestion, but agrees that the solution is far from certain.

On the problem of Isocratean influence the author takes a view midway between the dogmatic scepticism of Schwartz and the equally exaggerated theory of Laqueur, which would leave Ephorus no individuality at all; supplementing Volquardsen's list of parallels between the *Panegyricus* and passages in Diodorus, he puts a convincing case for tracing Isocratean bias and rhetoric in Ephorus. This bias is further brought out in a discussion of the prefaces and of such incidents as the Peace of Callias. But is there any evidence for the statement (p. 112) that Polybius accepted Ephorus's anti-Peloponnesian version of the causes of the Peloponnesian War?

In general, the book is clearly and accurately written: but there is an apparent error on p. xi of the preface, where it is implied that

P.Os. 1365 is omitted from Jacoby. This is not the case: the fragment is to be found in II, A, p. 504, with a note that the evidence 'spricht stark für Ephoros als Verfasser.' There are a few misprints, perhaps the worst being on p. 89, where the insertion of a ' ; ' makes nonsense of a quotation from Diodorus.

Certain omissions in the more recent literature from Mr. Barber's bibliography call for mention. In particular Reuss's *Bericht* on Ephorus in *Bursian*, 1909 (pp. 26-36), should have been included as a valuable supplement to the works quoted; and it is strange to see no mention of the relevant articles of Lipsius (*BPhW* 1919), Wilamowitz (*Sitz. Ber. Preuss. Ak.* 1921) and Mühl (*Silene Monasteries*, 1926), or Forderer's dissertation on Ephorus and Strabo. It would also have made the work more valuable for reference if an index had been included.

But these are small criticisms. A comparison with previous writers, and particularly with Jacoby, brings out the very real value of this essay; not only is it the more readable, but its results are frequently more valuable, precisely because the author is not afraid occasionally to follow the lines of probability beyond what is actually vouched for in our sources. This is not the last word on Ephorus, but it is one which no future work on the subject can afford to neglect.

F. W. W.

Ricerche Storiche, I: Geografia e Geografia del Mondo Antico. By G. M. COLUMBA. Pp. viii + 358. Palermo: Trimarchi, 1935. 45 L.

In this handsome volume Prof. Columba has republished in a revised form a number of articles which made their original appearance in various not easily accessible periodicals.

The first of these treatises relates to the origin and the extension of the term 'Aegean Sea.' In a careful review of the ancient literature Columba shews that until the fourth century *Alyates mēros* denoted nothing more than the strip of water between Euboea and the Hellespont. Subsequently it was extended to the entire northern half of what is now called the Aegean; but for the southern sector the names 'Myrtoan' and 'Cretan' always remained in common use, and writers of the Roman period were undecided whether the Cyclades should be allotted to the Aegean or the Myrtoan Sea. Following Columba's acute suggestion, we may conclude that the original narrow conception of the Aegean Sea as a mere *ὄρος ἁλῶν* was that of the practical sailors who habitually kept within the well-defined track to the Hellespont;

its extended meaning was imposed upon it by the systematising geographers.

The name 'Aegean' is derived from Columba from the current which butts like a goat into ships making for the Hellespont. But this current rarely exceeds two knots, and it is less of an impediment to navigation than the north-easterly trade-winds. It seems more probable that the name was taken from Aegae and the Aegean Gulf (between the Asiatic continent and Lesbos), just as the name 'Myrtoan' was derived from Myrto, an islet off C. Geraestus in Euboea. In either case the practical seamen who introduced these names took them from familiar landfalls on their usual course. As Columba points out, sailors bound to the Black Sea often made for a point at some distance south of the Hellespont entrance, so as to avoid the full force of the current (and trade-wind); the Aegean Gulf was therefore the top end of their 'wet lane.'

Two further articles, on the habitat of the Triballi, and on the alleged bifurcation of the Ister, also touch the field of Hellenic studies.

M. C.

La jeunesse de la science grecque. By ABEL REY. (*L'évolution de l'humanité, série complémentaire, la science dans l'antiquité*, II.) Pp. xvii + 537. Paris: La Renaissance du Livré, 1933. 40 fr.

Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft herausgegeben von A. Gercke und E. Norden; II, 5. *Exakte Wissenschaften.* By A. REHM and K. VOGEL. Pp. 78. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1933.

The first of these two works is a history of Greek natural science and mathematics down to the middle of the fifth century B.C. The number of pages may seem large in proportion to the extent of the material that has come down to us, but the author's purpose seems to be governed by the purpose of the series to which his work belongs and his aim appears to be to set early Greek science in its correct relation to the evolution of mankind rather than to inform us of its content. In consequence we are kept in an atmosphere, not condensed to dogmatic theory, of a philosophy of the origin and development of the sciences and of their relation to mythology and religion and the other formative influences that contributed to produce 'the miracle of Greece.'

The book is certainly better adapted to the requirements of what we should call honours students than to those of advanced students, and this will justify the author's strong preference

for French writers such as Tannery or writers translated into French such as Burnet. But it is surprising to find Tannery followed so far as to induce the author to prefer the antiquated date 610 B.C. to 585 B.C. for the eclipse of Thales.

The new part of Gercke and Norden is a marvel of compressed yet astonishingly full information on the whole history not only of the exact sciences in the accepted sense but also of biology and medicine in the Greek and Graeco-Roman world down to the beginning of the sixth century of our era. The portions dealing with mathematics, including optics and acoustics, are by Vogel. The remainder is by Rehm, who acknowledges assistance from Professor Blass in the sections on biology. The work could not possibly have been placed in more competent hands. Even the large-type narrative shews a complete mastery of the authorities and of the results of modern scholarship, while the critical bibliographies inserted at intervals of a page or two are not lists of books and papers, but illuminating guides with indications of contents and conclusions and appreciations favourable or otherwise, always pithy and, in the few cases where I am entitled to an opinion, sound.

That may make it the more desirable to draw attention to a few places where statements are made which seem to require modification. In stating that the attribution of the doctrine of the spherical form of the Earth to Thales by Aetius and to Anaximander by Diogenes Laertius is 'obviously false' Dr. Rehm appears to go rather far. The latter attribution is indeed inconsistent with Theophrastus' statement that Anaximander regarded the earth as cylindrical, but the former attribution is not inconsistent with Aristotle's statement that Thales was said to have described the earth as floating on water like a log. The question really is whether the Babylonian science by means of which Thales predicted his eclipse went the length of recognising that the circular shadow in a lunar eclipse is the shadow of the earth.

Dr. Rehm definitely accepts the Babylonian origin of the discovery of precession. But he appears to have overlooked the fact that Schnabel, who had dated Kidinnu in 314 B.C. in his 'Berossos,' has given a revised date of 379 B.C. in *Z. f. Assyriologie* 37 (1926), 16. J. K. F.

Homeric Essays. By ALEXANDER SHEWAN. Pp. xiii + 456. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935. 21s.

For detailed criticism of this volume the Homeric specialist may perhaps be best referred

to a specialist's review—that of Mr. C. M. Bowra in the *Oxford Magazine*, Feb. 27th, 1936. Dr. Shewan has here republished in one book the substance of over fifty papers on Homeric subjects which have, during the past twenty-five years, appeared from his pen in this *Journal* and in very many other classical periodicals. As such alone the book will be welcomed; but students of Homeric problems will welcome also the classification and co-ordination of so much valuable material, made the more valuable by the addition of the full index with which the book is supplied. The sections dealing with such controversies as Leukas-Ithaca, the 'Catalogue,' Scheria and the whole composition of Greek Epic are thus specially useful—not least because of the copious references which are made to other research in the same fields. The author's criticism of the opinions of others is, indeed, a feature of these papers: but Homer has long been an arena to which only antagonists of mettle feel themselves called, and the battles fought over the Greek Epic have something of an epic nature themselves.

C. H. V. S.

The Idea of God in Homer. By ERLAND EHNMARK. Pp. xiv + 103. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1935.

While certainly reviewing this *sine ira*, I perhaps cannot claim to treat it *sine studio*, the author having done me the honour to consult me during the writing of his work, which is an inaugural dissertation. But, examining it as impartially as I may, I cannot escape the feeling that it is the best contribution to the subject since Nilsson's *Götter und Psychologie bei Homer*.¹ Dr. Ehnmark begins by asking what is the chief differentia of the Homeric gods from mankind. Having rejected the idea that it is their immortality (for various words meaning 'godlike' have no such connotation, and, he might have added, are often applied to men, who are certainly not immortal), he concludes that it is power. Godlike men are in some way powerful; when the gods intervene in a battle or elsewhere, they give extraordinary power to their favourites; they themselves, in the exercise of their ordinary functions, show vast power. This, then, is their distinguishing characteristic. Specifically, it is supernatural power, that is to say, unusual: by no means our conception of a natural force, which is so regular that its presence is to be detected only by somewhat advanced and abstract reflection. Strictly speaking, the *deprh* which some men show is supernatural in

¹ In *ARW* xxii. 393-399.

its origin, the gods or a god give it; but it tends (p. 30) to become part of their *scopa*, and so natural or ordinary. The divine power which each god possesses is not unlimited; for instance, Hera in Φ 328 *sqq.* apparently cannot check Skamandros by her own might, but must call upon Hephaistos to do so; outside a god's own sphere even a man may be superior to him in some things, Odysseus for instance to Ares in cunning.

But this power, or *mana*, is not in itself an object of worship; the god who is venerated is the possessor of *mana*, not the *mana* itself.¹ Hence the gods are personal; the root of the feeling concerning them is neither crendism nor animism, but animatism. Here the author has a short, but excellent, discussion of these differences, shewing an insight into primitive religious feelings and their survivals in later stages which is none too common among either classicists or anthropologists. He, therefore (Chap. V), would not distinguish sharply between gods and spirits, *θεοί* and *δαιμόνες*. As to the relation of the gods to fate, he is of opinion (p. 79) that a strong belief in the former is incompatible with fatalism. The gods are active; fate, or rather the 'portion,' *scopa*, of each man, is passive, a thing once and for all measured out, which Zeus (p. 78) may weigh just as anything might be weighed, to see how heavy it is, without any notion of its superiority or inferiority to the weigher. The dissertation concludes with a consideration of the morality of the gods: Since their principle is to be active, in other words (p. 93) 'that self-assertion is a duty,' and they adhere to that rule, to call them immoral is to import standards with which they have nothing to do; while collectively, they shew themselves interested in the ordinary human rules of morality, enforcing justice and so forth.²

The points of disagreement which the reviewer finds here and there are too small and too few to be of interest.

H. J. R.

Die Religion der Griechen. II, Die Hochblüte bis zum Ausgange des fünften Jahrhunderts. By OTTO KERN. Pp. v + 319. Berlin: Weidmann, 1935. 16 m.

Since this work covers ground for the most part very familiar and is written by an author

of decided views, whose personality appears on every page, it is inevitable that a review, if it is to be more than a table of contents, should deal largely with minor points. Since, again, these will be mostly those on which reviewer and author disagree, it is well to state at the beginning that the book is well written, the subjects treated with a nice sense of proportion (for instance, Kern, though a specialist on Orphism, gives that movement no more than its fair share of space in his fifth chapter) and the facts put in a clear light, with comments sometimes new and often suggestive.

The titles of the chapters will give a good idea of the contents. They are: I, *Die olympische Religion und Homer*. II, *Gesetzgeber und Dichter*. III, *Die Religion der Fürstenzeit*. IV, *Delphoi*. V, *Orakel. Wundermänner. Theologen*. VI, *Die elaisinischen Mysterien*. VII, *Der Kampf um den Glauben*. VIII, *Fremde Götterdienste*. IX, *Die religiöse Erhebung der Perserkriege*. X, *Die Hochblüte der griechischen Kultur*. XI, *Der Ausgang des fünften Jahrhunderts*. XII, *Der Siegeszug des Asklepios*. In the first of these, although haunted by ghosts of dead and gone separatist theories and a little obsessed by his own over-emphasis on Thessaly,³ the author gives on the whole a good sketch of what his first sentence denies the existence of, Homeric religion. One remark bearing on literature, not religion, deserves to be recorded: on p. 6, Kern excellently compares the disappearance of pre-Homeric poetry with that of the Argonautic poems previous to Apollonios of Rhodes. The reviewer notes two definite misstatements, however: on p. 9 we are told that 'Homer weiss nichts mehr von den gewaltigen Riesen der Vorzeit,' and so does not make any of his gods gigantic, save Ares in Φ 407. Apart from the appearance of the giant Briareos in Φ 403, we have to consider such things as the huge weight of Athena in ϵ 839, the immense strides of Poseidon in θ 20, and the incident of the wounding of Aphrodite, whose

¹ The reviewer would agree as regards Greece, but only with considerable reserves in the case of Rome.

² Not altogether dissimilar conclusions are come to by the reviewer in a pamphlet, *Modern methods in classical mythology* (St. Andrews, 1930), p. 12 *sqq.*

³ For some reason not yet explained, Thessaly was backward and comparatively savage from Homer's day onward. Hence the *ἐσθία* *λεπτά* of even the glorious Achilles, who also is the only Achaean to believe in the efficacy of grave-gifts, an idea which the more enlightened Trojans have left behind them (X, 513, contrast Ψ 171-183). That any important cult, save perhaps that of Asklepios, came from this intellectually dead region is an assertion which will need much proof to make it credible. It had reached something like Homeric culture when the chief states of Greece had modern civilisations.

wrist Diomedes, tall man though he is, can just reach with the point of his spear, by making a long arm (*ἰσπερδαυρος*, E 335). Nor can I agree that there is 'echte, alte Religion' in the oath of Odysseus in τ 303, for he simply swears by the two powers visible at the moment, the sky-god who is looking down on him through the smoke-hole and the hearth-fire which is burning before him. On p. 30, the text disagrees with the citation from Isokrates (*Panath.* 18) in note 3; the orator says that the sophists he objects to made no original comments on Homer and Hesiod, not that they gave nothing but quotations from them. On the next page, it might be noted that the Chian tradition of the 'school of Homer' is plainly literary, not, as Kern implies, popular. In Chap. II, besides Kern's good remarks on Solon, he rightly and decisively rejects (p. 49, note 2) Beloch's absurd disbelief in the existence of the early legislators. Against the many good things in Chap. III, must be put one error, for on p. 90 he imagines that in the oldest form of the legend of Theseus his quite typical harrowing of Hell ended unsuccessfully. Such raids, in their popular form, regularly have a happy ending, but this one has been moralised, of course outside Attica, into a cautionary tale. Of Chap. IV perhaps the most noteworthy feature is the author's abstinence from over-emphasis on Dionysos. In Chap. V, while welcoming the characterisation (p. 144) of Pythagoras as more prophet and mystic than philosopher, I cannot accept the portrait of Empedokles (p. 146) as a convert from materialism. Chap. VI contains, on p. 195, an interpretation of the disappearance and return of Persephone which Nilsson (*ARW* xxxii. 70-141) has cogently disposed of since Kern wrote. In Chap. VIII, amid some good remarks on the lack of Western influence on Greek cult, Kern slips into the error of supposing Aphrodite of Eryx to be Phoenician (p. 231), neglecting or overlooking L. Malten's demonstration that she is Asianic, probably Trojan. That the great lesson of the Persian Wars for the Greeks was the importance of *εὐσέπεια*, as is argued in Chap. IX, is a tenable, probably right opinion; but Eteokles in the *Septem* does not furnish an illustration, for he is as surely fey as the last scene is spurious.

A longer list of good and bad points might be made out, but it is needless to do so. The book is so written that the reader need not be a specialist in order to be interested and informed by it; he might easily have a worse introduction to the subject, so long as he will not treat it as a final authority.

H. J. R.

Ahnenbild und Familiengeschichte bei Römern und Griechen. By ERICH BETHE. Pp. xiii + 121. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935. RM. 2.85.

These chapters on the religious and psychological background of the ancient portrait do not contain much new material, but they do offer an interesting series of observations on the connexion between Greek and Roman conceptions of death, their social expression in funeral practices, and their influence on family history. They also illustrate the differences between the Greek and the Roman attitude to the individual in relation to his kin, his class, and the state.

These differences are fundamental! Why did the individualistic Greeks represent themselves in such generalised shapes, whereas the clannish Romans required such sharply-differentiated likenesses? Why did the Romans insist upon their family-names and make do with only a handful of personal names, which remained stereotyped throughout Roman history, whereas the Greeks had practically no family-names, but countless individual names, to which they were constantly adding? Why are Greek sepulchral epigrams, however beautiful, so vague and conventional in the information they convey, whereas Roman commemorative inscriptions, however prosaic, are so vivid and illuminating? Why did the Greeks care so little for the actual achievements and services to the state, so much for the athletic victories and the mythical descent of their prominent citizens? On the other hand, why were even the most distinguished Romans honoured only by their own kin, whereas the Greek who had deserved well of the state was given a public funeral? And finally, why did Greek aristocrats disdain manual labour, but not think it degrading to engage in commerce, whereas the Roman patrician held exactly the contrary opinion?

Merely to ask these questions is to reveal the extraordinary difference between the Roman and the Greek mind. In the main B. is content to state the facts; he does not probe into their causes—a wise piece of self-restraint, for the causes lie, as a rule, far beyond our ken. His main concern is to analyse the observed facts of history and to interpret them as evidence for racial psychology; in so doing he sketches a most interesting double picture of the Greek and the Roman mind confronted with the mystery of death, the problem of the individual in relation to his social setting, and the symbolic forms in which they expressed their beliefs.

R. H.

Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse.

By F. CHAPOUTHIER. (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 137.) Pp. viii + 381. 15 plates, 67 illustrations in text. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1935.

This is an admirable example of exact and painstaking scholarship applied to the exhaustion of a limited theme. Dr. Chapouthier has long been interested in the Dioskouroi and in the gods of Samothrace. Finding, however, no explanation, of the latter especially, which satisfied him, either from the works of other scholars or from his own investigations in Samothrace itself, he finally decided to concentrate on a series of monuments, interesting and deserving of study, though all comparatively late (no Greek example is earlier than the third century B.C.), those which show a group of three figures, sometimes reducing one or two of them to mere attributes. In the centre, when the group has its full form, is a female figure, clearly a goddess, Helen or another; on either side is a horseman, generally looking towards the central figure. These supporters are usually symmetrical, sometimes having one or another modification of the symmetry, however, as small differences of attitude, unequal length of the spears which both generally carry, and so on. As a rule, the two males are clearly recognisable as the Dioskouroi; occasionally it is rather by analogy than by any attributes of the pair in a particular representation that they are determined as such. But the female varies not a little. While at Sparta, and often elsewhere, she is no doubt Helen, there are fairly numerous cases in which her attributes, pose, or the like plainly show that she is some other personage, for example Kybele or Selene. In some instances, also, the Dioskouroi have taken on the traits of the Kabeiroi.

Two branches of enquiry lead from this mass of facts (for the monuments are exhaustively listed and analysed), one backwards and one forwards and outwards. Regarding the former, the author has some difficulty in suggesting a plausible origin for the trio; he argues, but not very convincingly, for its derivation from an Oriental motif, the Great Mother supported on a pair of smaller figures, themselves mounted. In the latter, he has an easier task, given his great diligence and knowledge of archaeological material, for the tracing of this art-type through sundry provinces of the Roman empire as well as into other corners of the Greek and Graeco-Roman world is a matter of enumeration and explanation of details, not of speculation. He performs it well, incidentally finding room for some moderate and reasonable criticism of

others' views.¹ The quest takes him into some curious regions of late speculation, including cosmic doctrines in which the children of Leda and the egg from which they were born take on meanings very far removed from any which they had in the early days of the legend.

H. J. R.

By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism. By E. R. GOODENOUGH. Pp. xv + 436. New Haven: Yale University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1935. 22s. 6d.

Professor Goodenough brings to his task enthusiasm, sympathy for mysticism which does not degenerate into sentimentality, insight and a number of sound ideas, some of which auspiciously begin his first chapter (pp. 1, 2, a good sketch of what Hellenistic mysticism was). His principal material is naturally derived from Philon of Alexandria (Philo Judaeus), concerning whom he holds that he did not originate his doctrines and they did not die with him (p. 368); rather, he took them from his environment, the Diaspora, embellished and developed them along lines definitely Pythagorean-Platonic and not Stoic (on this point the author keeps up a running fight with students of religion who think differently), and passed them on to later Judaism, where they form part of the material on which the Kabbalah drew (pp. 359-360), and have left very marked traces on those prayers in the *Apostolic Constitutions* which Bousset reasonably suspects of having been originally Jewish (pp. 306-358).

The book follows a natural and clear plan of exposition. After an Introduction on Hellenistic mysticism in general, there are chapters on *The God of the Mystery*; *The Higher Law*; *The Torah*; *The Mystery of Aarón*; on Philon's treatment of the various patriarchs and of Moses; then on *The Mystery*; *The Mystery in Non-Philonic Writings*; next, the sections already mentioned, on the *Constitutions* and the Kabbalah, and finally a long appendix dealing with *Law in the Subjective Realm*, a not very happy title for a discussion of the concept of *ἐννοεῖν* and related ideas.

All this should therefore make up a good account of the thought of Philon, suitable

¹ This includes a refutation of part of Altheim's discussion of the relations between Castor and Pollux and Iuturna at Rome. I may be allowed to remark in passing that he has slightly misunderstood (p. 307, note 3) my own attitude towards that theory, which I regarded, and still regard, as ingenious and containing elements of plausibility, not as cogently proved.

especially for a student new to this region of philosophical religion and wanting a well-informed guide; for of zealous study of his author and the relevant literature, ancient and modern, Prof. Goodenough gives abundant proof. Unfortunately, the whole book is pervaded with inaccuracies arising from imperfect knowledge of the rhetoric, contemporary clichés, even grammar of Greek, and, partly because of these, one of its main theses is extremely ill-supported by anything like arguments, besides being none too probable in itself.

Of the former defect a few scattered examples must suffice here; they could be multiplied easily, and the upshot of them is that the reader never feels safe without a text of Philon by which to check the constant quotations, all in translation, throughout the book. The inaccuracies extend from single words (on p. 215, *δευτερά* does not mean 'secondary things,' and on p. 372 the nom. of *γλώττης* is not *γλώττη*) to passages of some length, whereof the author adopts or makes translations wholly misleading to anyone reading the book without the Greek text at hand, and the work is partly intended for such. A bad example is on p. 196, which cites *de virt.* 74 (the angels attend Moses' last songs) 'as critics to watch how, judged by their own technique, he made not a single false note. The angels would also be strengthened in their faith if a man clothed in his mortal body could have a power of song like the sun, the moon, and the sacred choir of the other stars, and could attune his soul to the divine musical instrument, namely, the heaven and the whole cosmos. But Moses the hierophant, when he had taken his place in the aether, mingled, etc.' Philon wrote: *ὡς ἔφασι θεοσώμενοι¹ κατὰ τὴν σφῶν ἐμπειρίαν οὐ γὰρ τῆς ᾠδῆς ἱκανοί, καὶ διὰ διαπιστοῦντες ἢ τις ἀνθρώπος ὃν ἐνδεχόμενος σώματι εὐχαρῶ δύναται τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων ἡλίω καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ πᾶσι ἄλλοις ἀστέροις πανέρῳ χορῶ μεμυσσῆσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ θείον ἔργον, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν σὺμπαντα κόσμον, ἀρροσόμενος, ταχέως δ' ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα χορευταῖς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, κτλ.* 'Like umpires to mark, in accordance with their experience, any false note that might mar his song, and also because they could not believe that any human being, chained in a mortal body, could be skilled after the same fashion as the sun, moon and the most holy choir of the other stars, attuning his soul to that divine instrument, the heaven and the universe. Now, when our

hierophant had taken his place among the choristers of the sky,' etc. Elsewhere it is a rhetorical figure that leads him astray: on p. 233 so common a thing as an apostrophe (*de somn.*, i, 104) makes him imagine that Philon has deified Moses to the extent of praying to him. When such mistakes as this can be made, it is no wonder that the book teems with false or highly doubtful exegesis, and that occasional restorations (as p. 20, where he attempts to make sense out of *Onotas ap. Stob.*, Vol. i, p. 48 Wachsm.) are not happy in producing soundness out of what is admittedly corrupt; in the case quoted, Goodenough's conjectures are no better than Wachsmuth's own.

As to his contention that Philon's mystery was a mystery in the true sense, with some kind of initiation and ritual, the passages quoted to prove the point indicate rather the opposite, especially that on which he seems most to rely, frag., p. 75 Harris (see pp. 260-1). In this the ordinary *μυστήρια* of Greek cities are contrasted with the *ἀληθὲς μύησις*. It is surely no secret that *Φίλων πλατωνίζει*, and the comparison of spiritual experience with an initiation is well illustrated by *Phaed.* 69 c, *Phaedr.* 250 b, while no very great time after Philon's death it was once more used with much elaboration by Plutarch, *de anima* (Vol. vii, p. 23, Bernardakis). A group of kindred spirits, holding doctrines more or less nearly approximating to Philon's own, there may well have been; a thiasos, unless further and much stronger evidence is forthcoming, may be discredited.

It is much to be desired that this book should be thoroughly revised with the assistance of a good philologist versed in Hellenistic religious history. The author will find one such no farther off from his own university than Harvard.

H. J. R.

Mithra, Zoroastre, et la Préhistoire Aryenne du Christianisme. By CHARLES AUTRAN. Pp. 279. 8 plates. Paris: Payot, 1935. 25 fr.

The author, very properly, protests against limiting the outlook of an ancient historian to too narrow boundaries, such as those of the classical and Semitic cultures only, and suggests some considerations which may serve to remedy this defect. His own thesis, which certainly cannot be accused of geographical or ethnographical parochialism, is that the Dravidian peoples had in early times a far larger share in the genesis of the Mediterranean cultures than has been hitherto allotted them; he is disposed to see their hand in the Phoenician activities, the

¹ The *lectio vulgata*, rejected by Cohn-Wendland, but having the advantage over their *θεοσώμενοι* that it will make sense. The other possibility is the variant *θεσώμενοι*.

civilisation of Minoan Crete, and certain features of the earliest traditional history of Greece proper, including the Attic dynasties. In this connection he makes a number of ingenious and daring suggestions, but anything resembling proof is to seek. The reviewer, for instance, is not impressed by the identification of Pandion of Athens (a most obvious hypostatization of the Pandia) with the Tamil Pāndiyan (p. 84; here and on p. 125 the author by a slip attributes to Pandion what is recorded of his son Lykos, see Herod. i. 173, 4), and does not welcome the etymology (p. 90) Prometheus = Pramatha (the name of a daimon attendant on Civa). However, it is better than the discredited 'fire-stick'; the objection is that a purely Greek name needs no Indian explanation.

These somewhat hypothetical Dravidian emigrants and settlers, then, are credited with exercising a great influence on the Aryans (it is to the author's credit that he knows what this name means and uses it accordingly), and not least on the Persians, whose dualism is a sort of compromise between the attitudes of India and the West; Autran apparently does not know that it is characteristic of a vast area extending from Iran to Nova Scotia. Mithra has much in common with the pre-Aryan Civa. Hence the influence of Zoroastrianism and of Mithraism is in a sense that of the Dravidians at second hand, persisting after a lapse of two or three millennia. What that influence was, he proceeds to show in the latter part of his book, but here the reader, if tolerably well informed, will be disappointed to find nothing that is not perfectly familiar to him, save some very hazardous re-datings of the post-exilic Hebrew prophets and one or two rather uncritical remarks about the history of late Judaism and early Christianity. That the concepts of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, the picturesque figure of the Devil and the ideas of a Messiah and the end of the age are not pure Jewish, and probably owe much to Persian influence, are all very ordinary, indeed commonplace statements, and that Autran should think them unfamiliar to Biblical commentators suggests that he has fallen in with decidedly obscurantist works. It is odd, by the way, that he seems nowhere to mention Reitzenstein.

H. J. R.

Plato's Thoughts. By G. M. A. GRUBE. Pp. xviii + 320. London: Methuen, 1935. 12s. 6d.

Greek Ideals and Modern Life. By R. W. LIVINGSTONE. Pp. x + 175. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935. 6s.

The Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel. By M. B. FOSTER. Pp. xii + 207. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935. 7s. 6d.

Of these three books Mr. Foster's is addressed mainly to the specialist, Sir R. Livingstone's to the general reader, and Mr. Grube's to those who come between; who have not had, and never will have, leisure to study Plato himself, but wish to know, seriously and thoroughly, what Plato thought. At this level, and for this purpose, it could hardly be improved on; and it is so well articulated, and so lucidly composed, that it serves more ends than Mr. Grube modestly proposes to himself. It can be equally well used as a general review of Plato's philosophy, and as an introduction to any particular dialogue. The compiler of the index has, by the way, discovered a new example of deification in Dionysus, tyrant of Syracuse.

The President of Corpus has taken for his theme the *vir media* of Hellenism, with special reference to our own time: a picture, drawn with much persuasive learning, of the Greek attitude, and an application—an analogy between the fourth century B.C. and the twentieth century A.D., which leaves the reader uncomfortably asking: Who stands for Macedon? There are other questions, too; which shew what a stimulating book the President has written. Is Hellenism like the spear of Achilles, able to cure its own wounds? I ask, because the humanistic, aesthetic Hellenism of late Victorian England (there is an old essay of Mahaffy on the Humanity of the Greeks which might serve as a manifesto of the sort of Hellenism which is registered in the word *Blithe*), was a powerful solvent of that earlier, intellectualist, Hellenism, which is preserved for us in Grote and Mill. They did not find Cobden incompatible with Plato, and I think there is some danger still of a fairy-land Hellenism being substituted for the real landscape, where the gifts which we think of as Hellenic were the crop and fruit of a tough, resistant, conservative soil. In the end the *effort* was too strong for the old *piety*, and not strong enough to create a new one. That is, perhaps, happening now. There may be a way out. In his last chapter the President suggests one. While waiting for it to be found, one can do worse than recall Wordsworth's injunction to the Sixth Form at Harrow: 'Keep clear of hymns and newspapers, and Aristophanes will do you no harm.' Because, if we want the real mid-point of Hellenism, a station from which to survey the world in the Hellenic way, is it not there?

Mr. Foster's book is as tough and resistant as

the most athletic reader can ask: closely packed, and developed with a slow, scholastic precision. If one word is enough, Mr. Foster will not use two, even when two would be easier to understand. Yet his criticism, first of the conception of State and Society, and their confusion in the Republic; and then of Justice and Freedom, and Plato's failure to make them engage within his own framework, is searching, and prepares the way well for his second theme, Hegel's criticism, and Hegel's reconstruction, which is to provide that subjective freedom which is missing from the Platonic state. Here he passes out of the sight of the Grecian. It is a good, closely reasoned, study; but I think a wider study of the historic background of political philosophy, and a style rather less like Hegel's and rather more like Plato's, would make Mr. Foster's next book in some ways better.

G. M. Y.

The Argument of Plato. By F. H. ANDERSON.
Pp. 216. London: Dent, 1935. 10s. 6d.

In this volume, published last year in Canada, Professor Anderson of Toronto offers 'a continuous introductory exposition of the argument of Plato.' He justly remarks that Plato is 'primarily a dramatist and not an announcer of theories'; and he presents his matter largely in the form of direct quotations, of varying length. From an estimate of the general background of Plato's thought, as reflected in the dialogues, we pass to his relationship with the Sophists and with the Demos, and then to the building-up of theory, with the doctrine of soul for a starting-point. So far the scheme is clear; and some of the chapters are in themselves very good, notably that on the Sophists. But the book as a whole lacks unity. To take one instance, the strong emphasis laid in early chapters on the ecstatic or 'Dionysiac' element in Plato's view of life is not adequately justified by anything which comes later. The general plan suggests some regard for chronological order, but this is frequently ignored in quotation or exposition on a particular point. In his later chapters the author outlines a progress of thought in epistemology and logic, culminating with the *Philebus*; hardly any mention is made of the *Timaeus*, though the *Laws* are frequently cited throughout the book. Professor Anderson seems, all through, to have taken an over-subjective line in interpreting Plato. He emphasises psychology at the expense of metaphysics, doing less than justice to the characteristic doctrine of the transcendent Form and the contrast of *εἶδη* and *βού*. The book contains much that is interesting and sound in detail; but amid

many unelucidated passages from the text (myth and dialectic alike), and numerous overlappings and repetitions, it is really difficult to trace any such precision of general outline as would serve for helpful guidance through the study of the dialogues. Plato's argument, or the author's interpretation of it, does not in fact emerge with any clearness.

D. T.

Plato's Theory of Knowledge. By F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. xiv + 336. London: Kegan Paul, 1935. 15s.

This volume, issued in a well-known and valuable series, embodies an interesting experiment in method and arrangement. Professor Cornford gives us a translation of the *Theaetetus* and *Sophist*, complete except for the earlier portions of the latter dialogue, where a summary is substituted. He follows in the main Burnet's text, but offers some valuable critical comment and a number of emendations of his own. The translation is most clear and readable, a really satisfactory modern rendering. The innovation consists of a 'running commentary'; after each 'compact' section of the translation (varying of course in length, but as a rule fairly short) we pause while the editor expounds the progress of the argument, and adds on occasion comment or illustration. This is precisely the method of the average lecturer on such a text. It is difficult to see why it should not be attempted also in book form; if justified anywhere, it is in the exposition of a dialogue like the *Sophist*, where literary art goes for little compared with dialectic. In the case of the *Theaetetus* most readers will, probably, feel more strongly those 'objections to dissecting the living body of a Platonic dialogue' which Professor Cornford himself, in his preface, admits to exist. Even where a text calls for constant and detailed explanation, it may be urged that the author's work should yet be somewhere presented as a whole, to preserve not only its literary quality but also the actual proportions of the argument.

The method once adopted, many a student may well be grateful for Professor Cornford's guidance through the developments of Plato's epistemology, and particularly amid the intricacies of the *Sophist*. We may note two points of special interest:—(1) The digression in *Theaetetus* 172B-177C is interpreted as a reminder of the philosopher's belief in the reality of ideals; 'the *Theaetetus* here opens a window upon the world of true being.' (2) Both the words of *Theaetetus* and the *ὑψηλὰ γινώ* of *Sophist* (the latter translated 'very important kinds') are explained as 'Forms' which must by no means

be described as, or compared with, 'Categories.' It may be questioned whether these *γένη*, 'kinds,' whose inter-participation is here the main issue, should properly be described by the same term as those self-existent *ὑποκείμενα* which from first to last Plato postulates as the constituents of the world of Being. D. T.

The Theory of Education in Plato's Republic.

By R. L. NETTLESHIP. Pp. 154. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935. 2s. 6d.

The Oxford Press has done a real service, both to classical studies and to education in general, by reprinting this essay. Those who have long known it in *Hellenica* will be grateful to have it detached from that massive (and now out-of-print) volume and offered to fresh attention in this convenient and readable form; and to many, particularly of course to the younger generation, it will now become known for the first time. There is still, as Mr. Spenser Leeson remarks in his judicious foreword, nothing comparable to it in English. The student of the *Republic* who already prizes Nettleship's *Lectures* will find this essay in no sense a superfluity; it treats the educational scheme as one whole, and in relation to the whole problem of education, with a completer synthesis and a more sustained inspiration. First published in 1880, and necessarily brief in proportion to its subject, it remains in essentials not only a stimulating introduction but a safe guide through detailed study of that voluminous literature of the *Republic* which has since accumulated.

Nettleship's work is no less valuable in its bearing on modern educational principles. What he wrote fifty-five years ago is not only still inspiring, but *mutatis mutandis* still relevant; and the discovery of the *mutanda* may prove in itself a salutary exercise. For the student and the teacher in any field of knowledge, this masterly interpretation of a master's work is a *κέρμας ἐς ἀθάνατον*. D. T.

Studies in the Platonic Epistles: with a Translation and Notes. By G. R. MORROW. Pp. 234. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1935. 83.

The author's preface to this modestly-entitled volume mentions two points on which he claims to have made a special contribution to the growing literature of the *Letters*—their philosophical and political content and the relation between them and the ancient historians of Sicily. It is to the historical problems that he devotes, in fact, most space and attention. The conflicting traditions in Sicilian history are very

thoroughly examined, and the evidence is found to support the authenticity of the chief letters. A group of shorter chapters discuss Plato's relationships with Dion, the latter's activities, and 'the experiment with Dionysius II'—the last a very interesting study. On the side of Plato's philosophy and general political theory, Mr. Morrow discusses the theory of knowledge in *Epistle VII*, correlating the suggestion of *ἐκλογαί*, as supplementing dialectic, with Plato's strong tendency (illustrated from the dialogues) to combine with pure logic the element of 'moral and aesthetic experience.' He achieves a similar synthesis in a useful essay entitled 'Plato and Greek Politics.'

On the particular problems of authenticity, Mr. Morrow strongly supports VII and VIII (on which he mainly concentrates his attention), rejects II, and is doubtful of III and XIII. He takes pains to marshal evidence and opinion on these and on all controversial or speculative matters; but here, as elsewhere in the book, his own conclusions are sometimes hard to disentangle, and his work would be more effective if it were more concise.

The translation appended to the essays is based on Burnet's text; it is sound and in the main readable, and a number of useful critical or explanatory notes are attached. The whole volume may be commended to students of the *Letters*. So substantial a work might well have been given a stronger binding. D. T.

Dion: Die platonische Staatsgründung in Sizilien. By R. VON SCHELEHA. Pp. 166. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1934. 5.50 m.

This book is a eulogistic study of Dion as personifying Plato's philosopher-king. The detailed story of his career is prefaced by an account of the tyrannies of Dionysius I and II and of Plato's interventions in Sicily; it is followed by the narrative of Timoleon's work as 'fulfiller' of Dion's frustrated purposes, and by a full and interesting collection of testimonies from the ancient writers, down to and including Julian the Apostate, in praise of Plato's political ideals and Dion's effort to realise them. A number of outstanding modern judgments upon Dion, from Niebuhr to the present, are also appended. The author has drawn largely upon the *Platonic Epistles*; these and other sources are fairly fully indicated in notes at the end of the volume. Some Syracusan coins of the period are excellently reproduced as frontispiece, and a map of Sicily is given at the end.

The author has written picturesquely and

persuasively, and has done full justice to her theme of Plato's compelling influence and an idealised Dion as his heroic disciple. This *ἥμαιος* can well stand beside, if it may not supersede, the colder judgments of the historians.

D. T.

Geschichte der Philosophie. By A. GERCKE and E. HOFFMANN. (*Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (Gercke and Norden), Vol. II, part II.) Pp. 122. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1933.

This section of an encyclopaedic work contains E. Hoffmann's revision of Gercke's outline of Greek Philosophy. Only essential corrections or additions have been made. Within the narrow limits of his space, Gercke's survey is a masterly achievement. The proportions of the work are interesting; 40 pages go to the pre-Platonics, 30 to Plato and Aristotle, 40 to later philosophy down to the Neoplatonists. A brief concluding section deals with ancient sources and modern research. The arrangement of the pre-Platonics is suggestive; they are grouped under three heads: (1) 'nature-philosophy,' (2) 'religious tendencies and abstract thought' (Heraclitus included here), (3) 'man and his problems.' The account of Plato is relatively full; the Platonic Socrates is without question treated as Plato's spokesman. The curious view that Plato's psychology is 'developed in independence of the Ideal theory' is stated in the text but corrected by the reviser in a footnote. Aristotle's system is admirably summarised. The post-Aristotelian section is equally good, except that the Neoplatonists are rather stinted of attention; but here, as throughout the work, Gercke's outline is supplemented by reference to standard commentaries.

D. T.

Greek Poetry and Life. Essays presented to GILBERT MURRAY on his seventieth birthday. Pp. x + 399, 6 illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 21s.

Probably no living classical scholar is so well known to the English public as Gilbert Murray. They may know him primarily as a vigorous champion of Peace among Nations, but his translations of Euripides have done so much to spread Greek culture in England that the public know Murray the Hellenist too. And it is to Murray the Hellenist that this volume of essays is offered on his seventieth birthday. Rarely has such an honour been so well deserved and, let us add, so well performed. For we have not often read a *Festschrift* so full of good things.

JHS.—VOL. LVI.

This makes a reviewer's task difficult and invidious; but one particularly valuable feature of the book may be mentioned at once, namely, the numerous articles which give us the text of new fragments of Greek poetry that are inaccessible to many of us. What could be better than to have A. W. Pickard-Cambridge's notes on the new fragment of the *Niobe* of Aeschylus? He summarises the already bulky literature of the subject and gives us two restorations of the text. The new *Symposium* of Callimachus's poems are known only to a few, and the papyrus fragments not always accessible; E. A. Barber's contribution ('The lock of Berenice: Callimachus and Catullus') is therefore very welcome. For the same reasons we are glad to have the essays of G. M. Bowra ('Erinna'), E. Lobel ('Tragic Fragment') and T. F. Higham ('Teliambi').

Another group of essays centres very appropriately round Drama. A. S. Owen, T. B. L. Webster and Sir R. W. Livingstone write on points connected with Sophocles, Livingstone reminding us that Sophocles was a mystic as much as a realist. Aristophanes receives attention from C. Bailey (that the poet himself played the part of Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*) and E. Fraenkel ('*Ecclesiazusae*'); Pindar from H. J. Rose (that Persephone's Ancient Grief (Fr. 133 Bgk.) is for her son Dionysus-Zagreus). Metrical questions have occupied J. D. Denniston, A. M. Dale, M. Platnauer and T. F. Higham, whose English verse rendering of the 'mousetailed' hexameters of *P. Oxy.* 1795 is splendid. Here, too, may be mentioned D. L. Page on Euripides *Andromache*, 103-116, seven elegiac couplets, a unique occurrence in Greek tragedy and the earliest example of an elegiac *ἔπηρος*. A. Blakeway argues well for an earlier date for Archilochus than the usual *floruit* 648 B.C. He knows of a better eclipse of the sun in 711. Literary chronology is also the object of H. T. Wade-Gery's essay *Kinnithos*. He attacks an old problem which seems to have come very much to the fore again in recent years—the *Homeris Hymn to Apollo*—and assigns its present form to the end of the sixth century, when Cynaethus, collecting stray fragments about Pythian Apollo, added them to the Delian hymn with a few lines of his own. H. L. Lorimer ('Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology') is excellent reading, as she always is. If Apollo was called *χρυσόμηνος*, yet had black hair, it was because he was a god, and because his cult statues were gilt. And if the gods made Pelops an ivory shoulder, it was for a similar reason. Being gods they naturally used ivory for spare parts. W. R. Halliday

('Treatment of Disease in Antiquity') is as sober and level-headed as ever. He never lets go of his subject or leaves his meaning in doubt—virtues all too rare. E. R. Dodds breaks new ground in an essay on telepathy and clairvoyance in antiquity. The first essay in the volume is by J. W. Mackail ('The Epilogue of the *Odyssey*'). The reviewer remembers well hearing J. W. Mackail and Gilbert Murray arguing about Homer, and it is fitting that on this occasion the elder scholar should offer to the younger an essay on one of the Homeric problems. The epilogue of the *Odyssey* is an addition, a patch-work. True, it finishes off the story; but we must distinguish between the ending of a saga and the end of an Epic poem. The *Odyssey* ended at Ψ296, as Aristophanes and Aristarchus are stated to have said.

T. A. S.

Ἡ προβυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ ἡ στάσις τοῦ 390. By G. T. ΚΟΛΙΑΣ. Pp. vii + 79. Athens: Kamtsikou, 1935. Dr. 30.

After a sketch of Salonika during the Macedonian period, when it was merely 'a port of Pella,' and in Roman times, when it was a bulwark against the barbarians and the intellectual centre of the Balkans, the author minutely discusses the revolt of 390, which Gibbon depicted in a famous passage. As a footnote to Gibbon says, the silence of the pagan Zosimos is 'most unaccountable,' nor does this latest commentator satisfactorily explain the fact that only Christian writers, of whom Rufinus and Paulinus were contemporaries, mention this 'worst of Theodosius' actions.' He distinguishes between the occasion and the cause of the disturbance, the occasion being the refusal to release a favourite charioteer, the real cause the oppression by the officials, culminating in the *σηπτερά*, or quartering of soldiers upon the civilians. He rejects the tradition of St. Ambrose theatrically preventing Theodosius from entering the church, and thinks that the main object of Christian chroniclers was to put the saint in the limelight. He fixes the date of the revolt by the fact that the news reached St. Ambrose at Milan during the synod against Jovianus, known to have been held in 390, and concludes with an account, largely based on Libanius, of the miserable condition of the people under Theodosius. Then, as now, the army was the dominant factor.

W. M.

Mistra. By MARIE G. ΣΟΤΙΡΙΟΥ. Pp. 69. Athens: Hestia, 1935. 50 dr.

The wife of the keeper of the Byzantine Museum, herself an accomplished Byzantino-

logist, has rendered a service to the increasing number of visitors to the Greek Ravenna by providing them with this illustrated guide-book in French. M. Millet has never published his long expected great work on Mistra, so that the students of this wonderful Byzantine capital have hitherto been obliged to content themselves with his album and with Struck's German monograph, both twenty-six years old. But, as the writer says in her preface, 'this capital of the Despotat of the Morea' played a preponderating part after Constantinople and Salonika in the movement of the Renaissance. She begins with a brief historical sketch of Frankish, Byzantine, Turkish and Venetian Mistra from its foundation in 1249 to its abandonment for Sparta in 1830. There follows a description of 'the dead town of Mistra'; then come the seven Byzantine churches, the museum, the monasteries of Brontochion and Peribleptos, the chapels, the palace of the Despots, specially valuable architecturally and historically, the houses of the magnates, such as those of Phrangopoulos and Lascaris, and the ruins of the fortress, constructed by Villehardouin. A plan and 37 illustrations add to the utility of this hand-book. Any allusion is lacking to the house of Krevatas, the ancestor of M. Venizelos, the owner of which migrated to Crete after the Albanian raid of 1779, thus making the future statesman a Cretan instead of a Spartan without making him forget the preservation of the monuments of his ancestral home, where Plethon taught and the last Byzantine Emperor was crowned.

W. M.

Milet. By TH. WIEGAND. Band III, Heft 4, Das Islamische Milet. By K. WULZINGER, P. WITTEK and F. SARKE. Pp. 127; 73 text figures, 68 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1935. 70 m.

Almost simultaneously with the part dealing with the Town walls, comes this fourteenth volume of the Miletus publications, which overhauls the Islamic remains. These are certainly of sufficient importance to justify a volume solely devoted to them, if only for the architectural character and excellent preservation of the 'Great Mosque,' the most striking architectural monument remaining at Miletus, except the Romano-Hellenistic Theatre. Though this building has not anything like the magnitude or historic importance of the mosque near the church of St. John at Ephesus, it is well worth careful record. It is also valuable

to have a site-plan like that on Pl. 48, which shows how sadly the Miletus of to-day has been deprived of its classical glory. The modern traveller can only trace the salient of the Greek and Roman town by traversing painfully the winding course of the Maeander, finding its devious way through a marshy swamp formerly covered by the sea. The difficulties of the German survey of the classical town are at once apparent.

The present volume is divided into three sections, dealing respectively with architecture, ceramics and inscriptions. The largest one, on the architecture, comprises the Mosque, two important Bath-buildings, a *Tekké* (monastery), a Khan and some minor remains. A concluding section deals with the Piruz-Bey Mosque at Milas, near Didyma. The Great Mosque is of the single-chamber type, and its general effect can be seen excellently on Pls. 3 and 7. The plan and section can be seen in Pl. 23 and other plates shew excellent photos of interior details, but it was evidently impossible to obtain a general view of the interior. The mosque itself was the main building of an important complex containing an enclosed *mudresse* (garden) with a large domed pavilion, fortunately almost intact. Pl. 2 shews this in relation to the mosque. The excellence of the construction and the fortunate escape from fire or plunder renders this group of buildings—and in particular the mosque—valuable for study, though the minaret is ruined in its upper staging. The unity of the idea and the completeness of the domical nature of the main building can be seen by comparing Pls. 1 and 3 (views) with Pl. 24, while the beauty of the detail is evident from Pls. 26, 30 and 34.

Plate 30 shews an analysis of cross-forms in plan in relation to the similar plan of the bath building near the mosque (Pl. 31), detailed sections of which are given on Pls. 40 and 41. A complete section to smaller scale is shewn on Pl. 42 with, apparently, a restoration of the domes, though this is not stated. The more ruined bath near the 'Delphinion' shews a powerful rib-work decoration in one of the interior domes. The Khan is now only of interest for its plan—shewn in detail on Pl. 36—a series of rooms and halls grouped round a central courtyard. The *Tekké*, shewn on Pls. 11, 12 and 13, is an impressive four-way arched ruin, now lacking its roof or dome. No plan has been given.

As the dating of the Great Mosque centres round the middle of the fifteenth century, the character of the work is more in line with

the Osmanli work at Brûsa than the earlier Seljuk work which can be seen at Konia and Sivas, and (possibly) Ephesus (Selchuk). This is quite apparent in the moulded-panel treatment of the walls and openings, though the fine character of the 'honey-combed' pendentive work is consistent with the best traditions of the period. These resemblances are apparent also in the plan of the Milas mosque, recalling at once that of the 'Green Mosque' at Brûsa, to which there is a reference on p. 63. The minaret, with a spiral pattern in its brickwork, follows on the traditions of the finer and earlier minarets at Selchuk. The mosque walls are of marble. The octagonal dome is finished externally with interlocking 'flower-pot' tiles laid in vertical strips, adjusted skilfully, with the minimum of cutting, to the rib-tiles: this is not made apparent in the elevation, but can be seen in the views.

Dr. F. Sarre's account of the ceramics, illustrated by 5 plates and several text-figures, contains an analysis of form and material, a detailed description of the various imported wares—Osmanli, Syrian, and Hispano-Moresque—and a comparison of the Miletus output with Tuscan majolica. The most striking piece is the two-handled vessel shown on Pl. 50a, with its delicate pattern in relief. The concluding section on the inscriptions introduces many architectural forms, as consistent with Islamic methods, and we are shewn the fine *turbah* of the Great Mosque complete on Pl. 56.

The excellence of the get-up of the whole publication—particularly the quality of the collotype plates—is consistent with the tradition of this fine series of volumes. T. F.

Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the year 1200. Edited by KIRSOPP LAKE and SILVA LAKE. I, *Manuscripts at Jerusalem, Patmos and Athens*, 1934. II, *Manuscripts in Venice, Oxford and London*, 1934. III, *Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos and in Milan*, 1935. IV, *Manuscripts in Paris, Part I*, 1935. Boston: the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and London: Christophers.

This collection of facsimiles is the most important event that has occurred in the world of palaeography for many years, and now that the Palaeographical Society has ceased to exist it is not likely to have a successor. I do not know which to admire more, the energy and foresight of Professor Lake in taking or getting taken the photographs in Jerusalem, Patmos and Athos, or the American munificence which

has made their publication possible and in such sumptuous form. When shall we find an English banker subsidising Greek palaeography?

The four eastern libraries were practically unknown, and the information about them is therefore very interesting. There are no new types of writing, and perhaps none exist; no tachygraphy, not much abbreviation (Athos 925 A.D. 1105 has a good collection of ordinary symbols), no trace of the Italo-Greek school (for Patmos 33 written at Reggio Calabria in A.D. 941 has indeed the birds, beasts and fishes usual in that school, but its hand has no special character). There are a number of new dates, of which those that fall in the tenth century are valuable (900, 914, 927, 941, 962, 970, 972, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 991, 992). Some of these allow an inference to the date of other undated MSS. I note a few cases:

Paris *gree* 70 resembles Athens 641 (A.D. 914).

— *gree* 1430 resembles Athos 446 (A.D. 984), confirming M. Omont's date.

— *gree* 1853 (Aristotle) resembles Patmos 39 (A.D. 972);

in the British Museum Add. MSS. 11300 and 17471 are at least as old as Jerusalem Holy Cross 55 (A.D. 927); Add. MSS. 20002 resembles Athos 157 (a. 970).¹

But the greatest service of this kind that Mr. and Mrs. Lake have rendered comes from Patmos 158 (A.D. 988). It is well known that a large group of classical authors make their first appearance in a hand of different sizes, often small, fluent and more or less elegant; such books are A and D of the *Iliad*, the Laurentian *Sophocles*, *Aeschylus* and *Apollonius Rhodius*, the Ravenna *Aristophanes*, two volumes of Aristotle (Paris *gree* 1741 and 1853), and others. They are undated, and considerable difference of opinion has ruled over their age. The older cataloguers tended to put them in the eleventh or even in the twelfth century, acting apparently on the principle that large stiff hands are old, small fluent hands younger. Of late, by a process of reasoning assisted by M. Alfred Jacob, who made the bold experiment of photographically enlarging one of the smallest hands, Par. 1741, and revealed it as a good tenth-

century hand, they have been put back to that century, but it had to be admitted that no dated hand could be produced at all closely resembling the *Sophocles* or the *Aristophanes*. Now we have this Patmos MS. in as small and as cursive a hand as Paris 1741 itself, and resembling in its stroke Laur. 32. 15 ('D') of the *Iliad*. The demonstration is made. These celebrated and priceless books were written between 950 and 1000.

These are the results of Mr. Lake's explorations in the Levant. It is more difficult to see the value of his reproductions of dated MSS. in Venice, Oxford, London, Milan and Paris. These MSS. have long ago been reproduced, and are accessible. M. Omont's volume is before me, the Palaeographical Society cannot have left anything over in Oxford and London, and it and Wattenbach and von Velsen between them must surely have accounted for Venice and Milan. The European purchaser at least could have done without volumes II and IV. Further what is the use of the little grids that appear at the beginning of the volumes? They show in diagrammatic form the way in which each MS. is ruled, that is to say whether there is one ruled line for each line of text, or one for two, and so forth. These details have some interest, but does anything turn on them? Something does sometimes turn on the folding of the leaves—if the flesh-side of the skin is turned outwards, as is usual, or the hair-side, as sometimes happens; it was once believed that the circumstance that the writing sat upon the ruled line or depended therefrom was a factor in determining the date of a MS. (I do not know what Mr. Lake thinks about this. Girolamo Vitelli laughed at the idea.) But I am not aware that ruling makes any difference. If it does it is a secret of the editors. I am inclined to call this *γερμανισμός*.

But I have a worse bone, if the expression can be passed, to pick with the editors. Why do they limit their facsimiles to dated MSS.? When palaeography began to be studied from photographs it was desirable to collect pegs and anchors towards the chronological mapping of Greek writing. This was conscientiously carried out by the Palaeographical Society to an extent which attenuates our regret at its disappearance. The other collections usually reproduce dated and undated books alike. Now it is the truth that Palaeographical Providence has seldom allowed important or beautiful MSS. to be dated. Some are (like the Bodleian Plato), others are not (like the Paris Plato and the other Platos); there is one dated

¹ Paris *gree* 254b was believed by Bekker, its first collator, to belong to the fourteenth century (*Apoll. de pinum* 1813, p. 149). Its charming hand has always made me reluctant to agree even with M. Omont's estimate of s. XI, and now the coincidence of the second page in Uhlig's edition with Patmos 39 (A.D. 972) seems near enough to allow us to put it in the tenth.

Iliad, Burney 86, very few of the other two hundred are dated. Nowadays the general lines of evolution in Greek writing are fixed, we require no more ugly dated books (as I have said Mr. Lake's plates produce nothing novel and do not assist to date more than a few MSS.). We require pictures of the rare, curious and beautiful hands that lurk, a few in the Bodleian, a few perhaps in the Museum, no one knows how many in the Vatican, that all but uncharted sea, to which I commend the attention of these devoted palaeographers.

T. W. A.

Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. By KURT WEITZMANN. Pp. xvi + 93; 93 plates. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1935.

It is the merit of Weitzmann to have formulated his problem in a way which is still too unusual in studies on Byzantine art. He tries to give an exhaustive account of a single homogeneous group of Byzantine monuments, to isolate it entirely, and to find therein an immanent evolution which can be regarded as an image of the general history of the period. To this kind of historical conception, so familiar to us in the literature of ancient, mediaeval, and later art, the character of Byzantine art seems to oppose itself to a certain degree. Here the stability of models during a long period, the mechanised continuity of artistic traditions in which the same models are copied again and again is much more obvious than the stylistic changes which are still continuously taking place and constitute an element of organic evolution even in the most thoroughly conventionalised artistic production. Very refined methods are required in order to discover the principles of these changes, to find criteria for distinguishing between the stages of development and between the various local currents in a group of monuments, the most distant of which in time and space may still be connected with each other through common models.

W.'s book is the first history of book-illumination in the Byzantine Empire. From the Constantinopolitan and neighbouring schools, which fill the first—and naturally the largest—chapter, he distinguishes those of Asia Minor, of the Eastern border districts, and lastly those of Italy. A chronological development is described at least in Constantinople from the ninth to the early eleventh century.

What are the criteria which helped W. to make these distinctions? To a large extent he has based his study on an analysis of ornament. This side of Byzantine book-illumination has been badly neglected hitherto. It is W.'s great

achievement to have treated the ornament side by side with the figure-style. He reserves a great part of his plates for the reproduction of title-frames, initials and canon-arcades, and he also includes in his survey many MSS. hitherto unpublished with ornamental decoration only. These have helped him to augment considerably the number of MSS. whose place of origin (and sometimes also date) can be ascertained; and he has found certain ornamental designs to be typical for the single schools and periods.

A most valuable picture of the arts in the capital and in the provinces has been formed on this basis. In some cases, however, W. seems to have exaggerated the importance of his criterion. He himself admits that the names which he has given to his groups are not equally certain, but he does not really doubt that the groups themselves are formed in the right way. For he believes that ornament is less transferable, more strongly tied and confined to a local tradition than figure-style, and that it is therefore a more decisive argument. Yet he must constantly allow for confusions between his groups, and some of them seem to be rubrics in a systematic analysis of Byzantine illuminated ornament rather than units in a historical sense. Such an analysis is, of course, in itself a very useful work. W. has pointed out very convincingly the evolutionary stages of single ornamental types such as 'Blütenblatt' or 'Laubsägeornament,' and the place held by a MS. within such a chronological series can often be a decisive argument for its dating (cf. e.g. the important contribution made by W. to the much-discussed question of the date of Cod. Petropol. 21 through the analysis of its ornament: p. 61).

Has it, however, much historical meaning if the MSS. of the capital are classified and christened according to their types of ornament? If a MS. like the Berlin Hippokratika, whose ornamental programme does not give the impression of an eclectic compilation, contains three or more of W.'s types in a fully developed form, it becomes very doubtful whether these types have anything to do with the artistic tradition of single monastery-schools or whether they mark different periods. (Classical and oriental motifs seem to have coexisted in Constantinople in the middle and even as late as the end of the tenth century.) The fact that W. himself doubts whether he was right in separating (on account of some types of ornament) MSS. so closely related to the arts of the capital as the Vatican Bible (Cod. Reg. 1) or the Joshua rotulus from the Constantinopolitan schools altogether shews that the time is not yet ripe for so comparatively

subtle a distinction as one between Constantinople and Western Asia Minor; and if the plan of the book is still based on such distinctions, there is a great danger of over-emphasising small differences at the expense of important similarities. At least it would have been necessary for W. to investigate more thoroughly the previous history of the single ornaments, and to shew that they can rightly claim to be connected with certain local traditions.

Can Italian 'schools' be formed on the evidence of one or two ornamented MSS. each? Moreover, as W. himself admits, many of the Greek MSS. in Italy can hardly be separated from the Latin ones, so that this material could perhaps be dealt with more adequately in a monograph on Italian ninth- and tenth-century painting. The origin of their linear narrative style can be found in Italian eighth- and ninth-century frescoes. (For the Vatican Job, it may be added, the frescoes of Sta. Maria Egiziaca in Rome should be compared rather than those of S. Clemente.)

Apart from these rather outlying schools, and apart from subdivisions, many of which owe their existence chiefly to W.'s peculiar method, the book comprises two main groups or schools of miniature-painting and their offshoots: the classical school of Constantinople and the more 'mediaeval' tradition in the centre of Asia Minor.

The latter is perhaps the most consistent of W.'s groups. The MSS. are grouped together not only on account of their ornaments, but also on account of more general stylistic features. Apart from MSS. like Petropol. 21, most of whose miniatures are explained as provincial copies from ninth-century Constantinopolitan New Testament illustrations of rather Hellenistic character, W. associates with Asia Minor several MSS. in which the style of the capital is mixed with an unclassical realistic expressive element. Whether or not this element is really of Syrian origin—as W. assumes largely on account of its occurrence in the Rabula Gospels—this distinction between the style of Constantinople and that of its hinterland is certainly most important for the art history of Asia Minor from Early Byzantine times onwards. The originality of the border-illustrations—for instance, of the Chludoff or of the Pantokrator Psalter—is well explained by this geographical distinction. W. finds a link between the fifth- and sixth-century MSS. usually supposed to be 'Cappadocian' (Vienna Genesis, Rossanensis, etc.) and those of the ninth century in the Patmos Job, one of the very few MSS. which can be

ascribed to that 'dark' period. He makes an interesting point in comparing with these early Job scenes those of the Venice Job of 905 (Marc. gr. 538), which, although dependent on similar and partly identical models, show this narrative style transformed by hieratical, rhythmical and geometrical tendencies similar to those which led to Romanesque art in the West. W. imagines—and this is perhaps the central idea of the book—that the development in the East would actually have led to a kind of Romanesque art had it not been interrupted by the tenth-century renaissance in the capital. It must be said, however, that here the geometrical tendencies were never as strong as in the West (cf. the Vatican Job), where they can be found as early as the eighth century. In the Eastern world the Hellenistic tradition never ceased.

Therefore the theory of a tenth-century renaissance as a decisive break, which dominates W.'s treatment of the Constantinopolitan schools, is in itself problematical. This 'classical' tenth-century art was based on a strong Hellenistic tradition. Why has W. entirely omitted all discussion of the arguments put forward against the explanation of the Paris Psalter miniatures as free compilations of a 'renaissance artist' by Dr. Buchthal in a thesis published in 1933? As regards ornament, it certainly becomes richer during the tenth century; but the previous history of the single motifs is not yet clarified enough to explain any of them as new creations in a classical mood. The renaissance could certainly to a large extent refer to earlier models. W. himself admits that a great many monuments of the seventh and early eighth centuries must have been lost: this is a period from which hardly anything exists, although the iconoclastic reaction can only be explained by a very copious production in the preceding period. The Patmos Job cannot fill this gap by itself. At the same period (seventh and early eighth centuries) Roman frescoes and mosaics give an idea of a much better and more Hellenistic Eastern tradition. Many of their Eastern models we find used again in Constantinople at the end of the ninth century in the Paris Gregory MS., which is, however, probably not a first-class specimen of this tradition. Some of the paintings in Sta. Maria Antiqua shew the same models executed in a more Hellenistic manner and framed as if they were genuine panel-pictures; these, therefore, cannot be, as W. assumes, achievements of the tenth century (cf. Adoration of the Magi, Crucifixion, even with landscape, Hezekiah). It thus becomes doubtful whether the Paris Gregory represents Byzantine ninth-

century art in its best form; and not too many conclusions should be drawn, therefore, from comparison with a tenth-century MS. like the Paris Psalter. Nevertheless, the tenth century has undoubtedly its new features and is in general more 'classical' than the ninth. We must, however, find out to what extent this 'renaissance' was based on Early Byzantine models, and how much of this had outlived the struggles of iconoclasm and was gradually evolved into a 'classical' style.

E. K.

Ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγ. Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα. Βίος, Πόλεμοι καὶ Θάνατος αὐτοῦ. A new illustrated edition, with an historical introduction by A. A. PALLIS and illustrations from old Persian and Indian manuscripts. Pp. 164; 30 illustrations, one in colour. Athens: Pylson, 1935. 200 dr.

Mr. Pallis has given us a most fascinating book (dedicated to the memory of his father), distinguished alike for the interest of the text and the beauty of the illustrations. It is well known that the story of Alexander's exploits spread all over the world and was embellished by a wealth of legends. But Mr. Pallis presents us with something new, to wit, the most interesting of the Oriental legends in illustrations, in some cases here published for the first time, in others reproduced from books not easily accessible.

The principal sources of these pictures are manuscripts of Firdouzi's *Shahnama* and Nizami's *Iskandarnama*, poema composed in the tenth and thirteenth centuries respectively. The manuscripts range in date from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. As Mr. Pallis points out, the really original part of his work lies in these illustrations and the commentary on them. A series derived from manuscripts in the Museum of Top-Kapou in Constantinople is reproduced in this book for the first time.

The plan of the work may be described briefly. It falls into two parts. First comes an historical introduction, which, after dealing with the mediaeval versions of the Alexander romance in general, makes a special study of the peculiar forms taken by the romance in the literature and art of Mussulman countries, and Persia in particular. The second part consists of a reprint of the Greek prose version of the 'History' from an eighteenth-century copy in possession of the editor, probably printed in Venice, where the first printed prose version had appeared about 1700. There exists also a poetical version going back to 1388.

The prime source of all the mediaeval versions

of the romance, oriental and occidental alike, is the work which goes under the name of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, dating from the second or third century after Christ and probably written in Egypt. The succeeding versions took on various colours to suit the countries for which they were composed.

A few of the more striking of the Mussulman-Persian legends associated with the poems of Firdouzi and Nizami may now be mentioned. The Mussulmans represent Alexander as a Mussulman fanatic who makes the pilgrimage to Mecca and sees the Kaaba. To the Persians, Alexander is the son of a Persian father and a Greek mother; he turns philosopher and debates with the fakirs of India or carries on discussions with the seven Sages of Greece. In his search for the water of life, the place of Andreas the cook in the pseudo-Callisthenic version is taken by the prophet Khidr. Alexander builds the great wall of iron against the tribes of Gog and Magog in the Caucasus; he acquires a wealth of diamonds from a gorge by the device of throwing in raw flesh, which is retrieved by birds with the diamonds attached—an Arabian Nights story; he avails himself of the magic skill of Apollonios of Tyana; to overcome the elephants of Poros he introduces iron horses on wheels, filled with lighted petroleum.

The beauty of many of these Persian miniatures is very striking. Special mention may be made of the Visit to the prophet Khidr (reproduced in colour); Sikandar and the Seven Wise Men of Ancient Greece; Khidr and Elijah discovering the Fountain of Immortality; Alexander visiting Candace; the Tree with the human voice foretelling Alexander's death; Alexander on his throne. The Mongol, Tatar, Mussulman and Persian costumes are curious and interesting.

The Greek prose narrative, which is based on Pseudo-Callisthenes, is mostly made up of the marvellous, with a dash of the historical. Nektenabos of Egypt is Alexander's father. Alexander visits Rome and England; he discovers the Island of the Blest, falls in with Nereids, Centaurs and talking birds; descends to the depths of the sea in a cask of glass; disguises himself as Antiochos and visits Candace as envoy. Some of these episodes are illustrated from Persian and other manuscripts. The Greek text has an attractive simplicity, and is written in popular language. The epilogue is noteworthy, as indicating the moral purpose of the compiler. There is in it a mixture of Christianity and Platonism. Nothing matters

save Christian works; our soul will take with it only its good and bad acquisitions.

A Bibliography is added for those who wish to make a more thorough study of the Alexander romances. The book is admirably produced.

F. H. M.

The Occupation of Chios by the Venetians (1694). Edited with an introduction by PHILIP P. ARGENTI. Pp. cxv + 306; 3 Plates. London: John Lane, 1935. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Argenti continues to display an unflagging energy in publishing episodes from the history of Chios. This is the fifth volume of the kind he has issued within the space of three years. The thoroughness shown in the previous works marks the present one also. The relevant diplomatic documents—Venetian, British, French, Dutch and Tuscan—are marshalled in detail, and the introduction sums up the story in complete and interesting fashion. The outstanding figure is that of Antonio Zeno, who, as supreme commander of the Venetian forces, considered that the occupation of Chios might bring him fame comparable with that of his predecessor Morosini, despite the express warnings of that commander against diversion of this character. Failure was in the end complete, because the risks involved were never thought out adequately. Superior sea power on the part of the Turks, coupled with slackness in support from the Venetian Government, were the principal causes of failure. The occupation only lasted from Sept. 1694 to Feb. 1695. The long inquiry into the conduct of the expedition was not completed when Zeno died in prison in 1697, but, though his conduct had not been free from some reproach, the result was a virtual acquittal.

Conditions in Chios at the time of the occupation are well dealt with. A marked feature was the hostility between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Greeks. The Roman Catholics naturally supported Venice, and the failure of the expedition was a blow from which they never really recovered. The Greeks in the end got off comparatively lightly. Mr. Argenti supplies an interesting appendix on the charges brought against the Jesuits of tolerating the simultaneous profession of Roman Catholicism and Mohammedanism in Chios.

There are three plates, giving a portrait of Zeno and plans of the town and fortress of Chios respectively, all from nearly contemporary originals. The book is well produced and adequately indexed.

F. H. M.

Ali the Lion: Ali of Tébeleni, Pasha of Jannina, 1741-1822. By WILLIAM PLOMER. Pp. 288, with illustrations and map. London: Jonathan Cape, 1935.

Ali Pasha, the Lion of Jannina, was in his day the most notable character in the Balkans, and his intriguing politics brought him into close contact with the outside world—with the Porte, with Russia, with France and her consul at Jannina, Ponqueville, and with England. He was visited by Hobhouse, by Holland, and most notably by Byron; and was in fact almost as much a centre of local interest as was Voltaire at Ferney. In so short a book Mr. Plomer has obviously not aimed at saying all that could possibly be said of the life of his hero, but with the professional interest of a novelist he has concentrated on the character and psychology of Ali. He has used his sources fully, but without pedantry. The most notable omissions in his work are perhaps a tendency to underrate the use made by Ali of the Bektashi dervishes—here he might with advantage have consulted Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*—and his neglect of the rhymed biography written by Ali's secretary, which has been in part published by Leake and in his *Τουρκοκρατημένη Έλλάς* by Sathas. Nor has Mr. Plomer, we gather, visited Epeirus, and this is the more to be regretted, as his style has always the great merit that he is able to give his reader a very close, one might almost say tactile feeling for the world about which he is writing.

But when all this has been said, the book remains a most interesting and brilliantly written picture of an extraordinary personality. Mr. Plomer shows us in lively reality all the qualities of his monstrous hero: ambition, courage, cruelty, avarice, superstition, cold-blooded treachery, furious egotism, relentless desire for vengeance on anyone who had ever stood in his way, and with all this a softness and affability of address, of which his skilful hypocrisy could make the fullest use.

Like his namesake the Caliph, the Lion of Islam, Ali was given the title Arslan, the Lion of Jannina; one of his rival chieftains was called Kurt, the Wolf, another was called Caplan, the Leopard: nothing can give a better idea of the savagery of life in the provinces of Turkey in the days of Ali. Mr. Plomer's vigorous and at times colloquial style exactly suits his subject. The illustrations are all from water-colours done at Jannina by Louis Dupré. Their soft sham-oriental romanticism gives very well the contemporary European, rather "Lalla Rookh" way of looking at the eastern world, and makes

a pleasant contrast to the close realism of Mr. Plomer's narrative. No one interested in later Greece or the Nearer East should neglect this book; the general reader will find it a most exciting story.

R. M. D.

Ἑλλήνες καὶ Σέρβοι κατὰ τοὺς ἀπελευθερωτικούς τῶν ὁγῶνας 1804-1830. By MICHAEL TH. LASKARIS. Pp. 97. Athens: Xenos, 1936.

The professor of Balkan history at Salonika University has continued his studies of Greco-Serbian relations from medieval to modern times, basing his monograph on such various sources as the Cetinje archives and the Karadja papers in the Benaki museum. He describes first the participation of Greeks in the insurrection of Karageorge, whose name is borne by an Athenian street, the vain effort of Nikotsaras to aid the Serbs, the diplomatic support by Capò d'Istria and the services of Karadja, Hospodar of Wallachia, whose descendants still live in Athens. The second chapter narrates the connexion of the Serbs with the Greek rising, how Karageorge came into touch with Olympios, agent of the *Philikì Hetairia*, into which he was initiated at Jassy, how Xanthos of Patmos negotiated with Zivkovich, and how Alexander Hyspilantes sent Aristides Papa to Milosh Obrenovich, the mission ending in the arrest and death of the emissary at Ada Kaleh. This chapter closes with the attempt to bring Montenegro in 1825 into the Greek struggle. The keeper of the Cetinje archives identifies the writer of the letters signed 'Zacharias Blastou' and 'Joannes Popovich' with the Vladika Peter I., who signed another letter in 1826 refusing to send 300 Montenegrins to Mavrokordatos.

W. M.

The Monks of Athos. By R. M. DAWKINS. Pp. 408: 6 plates, 8 figures. London: Allen and Unwin. 15s.

Professor Dawkins is probably better qualified than any other person to write about Athos; certainly no one who has not visited the Holy Mountain is competent to criticise him. His book is easily the most attractively written of its kind that has come into our hands for a long time. It is difficult to say what exactly it is that makes it so refreshing, unless it be the complete naturalness with which he makes us his companions in his explorations, and the geniality with which he recounts his experiences. He seems to have wandered everywhere, and visited

and been welcomed and for the most part stayed in every kind of habitation—monastery, skete, kalyva, kelli or kathisma—and sampled every kind of food, with grievous consequences to his digestion, it is true, but no complaints. He gives a clear account of the various kinds of community. Incidentally, it may be observed that *σκήτη* is not etymologically connected with *δοχειαρίον*, but goes back, through *Σκήτη*, to the native name of part of that home of hermits, the Wadi Natrun. But the main theme of the book is the icons and the legends connected with them. Like local legends of Western Christendom they are rarely beautiful, often childish, and rather monotonous. The most striking differences from the West are in the absence of images in the round and in the Greek view that incorruptibility of the body is a sign not of saintliness but of wickedness. The only flesh that does not decay in Athos belongs to sinners. This does not apply to bones, which are as well preserved and as much venerated there as in the West. When there is a sweet savour, it is distilled from an icon. [It is true that the difference between East and West is not so clearly marked as the author seems to indicate. On the one hand, if the case of Father Zossima in *The Brothers Karamazov* is evidence, the Russian Church certainly expected that the bodies of saints would not decay; on which point, and on the belief in Athos in the matter of bones, Father Jouf has some interesting observations. On the other hand, a reference to Saint-yves, *En Marge de la Légende Dorée* (p. 286), shows that in the West the body of the excommunicated or of the potential *loup-garou* might not decay.] The legends of the discovery of icons, their transportation to Athos by miraculous means, and the various manifestations of divine power—miraculous light, refusal to budge from the chosen place, etc.—are all carefully recounted. The Trikeroussa of Khilandari is said to have been found in a tree, and the author enumerates other cases of such discovery, adding that 'the conception of the tree is helped out by the iconic type of the Virgin as the centre and last branch of the Tree of Jesse.' One may make the suggestion that the legend may have been inspired by such a representation as that which we see in the enamelled icon of S. Maria in Portico (now in S.M. in Campitelli), where the figure looks as if it were seated among branches, even though it may have been derived from a figure standing between two trees. Perhaps the best of the legends is that of the Boy and the Treasure. An inscription on a column said that if you

¹ *JHS* xlv. 266.

struck at its head you would find gold. The boy saw that this meant that you must dig where the end of its shadow fell on the ground. This is the same as the story associated with Virgil and Gerbert; but Professor Dawkins notes the difficulty that the shadow shifts its position according to the hour and the day of the year. This difficulty is met by another version, which comes from Apulia. About 1073 there was found a marble statue wearing a bronze circlet inscribed: *Kalendis Maiis oriente sole aureum caput habebat*. Robert Guiscard, to whom a Saracen prisoner, in return for his liberty, explained the riddle, dug at the right time and found the treasure. One more small point: the tongue of an asp or dragon in the treasury of the Laura, which Professor Dawkins identifies as a fossil shark's tooth, is evidently another example of the shark's tooth *glossopetra* or serpent's tongue stone which, as Mr. Clifford Smith has observed (in his pamphlet on the *Goldsmith and the Young Couple*, by Petrus Christus), is very common in medieval inventories and was frequently elaborately mounted. (Cp. Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels*, p. 114.) The one at the Laura gives us an idea of what these mounts were like, and one would like to know whether they also contained a supposedly antitoxic earth or something of the kind.

A delightful book.

G. H.

Βίος 'Αγίου 'Ανδρέα 'Απ' Ἐντὴ τοῦ Χίου. By ΑΘΗΝΑ Κ. ΣΑΡΟΥ. Pp. 90. Athens: 'Hestia', 1935.

Her edition of her father's great history of Chios¹ and lesser works on that island qualify the writer to describe the life and death of the first martyr after 1453, who died in 1465, on the anniversary of the capture of Constantinople. The dates of his birth and death appear variously in the text and the Church Service appended to it (pp. 9, 10, 21, 29, 43, 77). There is only one contemporary biography, by Georgios Trapezuntios in Latin, composed on the basis of a lost Greek life of the saint after a visit to Constantinople the year after the martyrdom, in consequence of a vow when he was threatened by robbers on the journey to Rome. The saint was a scion of the famous Chiote family, which came from Ferrara in the thirteenth century, and still flourishes in England, where it has produced a distinguished living historian of Chios. He was buried, after horrible tortures by the Turks, in the Church of the Virgin at Galata, the Chiote quarter of the city. Two chapels bearing his

name were erected in his native island; one was destroyed by the earthquake of 1881, the other still exists in ruins. The monograph includes a sketch of social life there in the time of the Genoese *Manna*, and shews that he was never regarded as a Latin saint. 'Innocent III' (p. 49) is an error. W. M.

Introduction to the Study of Modern Greek. By NICHOLAS BACHTIN. Pp. 86. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1935. 2s.

This book, the author tells us, is an introduction to a 'Modern Greek Grammar for Classical Students' now being prepared. 'It is intended neither for readers with no interest at all in philological problems, nor for those already familiar with Modern Greek philology.' The standpoint is historical; the chapters on Phonology and Morphology are designed to carry the reader from the ancient to the modern language. Mr. Bachtin has studied the language in Paris, and is a disciple, but a moderate one, of Psichari. There is perhaps a lack of contact with the Greeks of Greece to be felt in the very low estimate of the foreign, Italian and Turkish, words now in use in Greece, and the last chapter, in which he champions the demotic form of the language, does not give the weight they deserve to some of the arguments of the moderate supporters of the *katharevousa*, now common in Athens. But in these controversial matters every one must follow his own ideas, and Mr. Bachtin, has, as he says, learned the language at the School of Oriental Languages in Paris.

No method of studying such a language as Greek except the historical can be finally satisfactory, but at the same time it has its weaknesses. The student is perhaps a little too apt to give way to the temptation to prophesy the future. Thus when our author contemplates the mass of neuter diminutives in Modern Greek he finds himself 'almost imagining a time when all nouns will have been levelled under a single gender—the neuter,' which is in any case going a great deal faster than the facts warrant, and neglecting the fresh categories of masculine and feminine nouns. He goes on to betray a certain hankering too after 'general conclusions' and even 'the formulation of a prognosis.' An even rasher prophet from the same school, M. Louis Roussel, has discerned in the future the loss of cases and of verbal inflexions. But Mr. Bachtin is moderate in all his views, and has written an extremely useful and very interesting book. The *Grammar for*

¹ *JHS* xlii. 116; xlv. 144; xlvii. 208; xlviii. 267.

Classical Students will, it is to be hoped, not be long delayed.

R. M. D.

Neugriechische Volkslieder, gesammelt von Werner von Haxthausen. Original text and translation: edited by K. S. KEMMINGHAUSEN and G. SOYTER. Pp. ix + 195, with a map. Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1935. 5.62 m.

It would be hard to find an example of a book which has lost so much of its value from delay in publication as has this collection of Greek folk-songs. The collection was made in 1814, ten years before the first publication of any of these Greek ballads was made by Fauriel in his *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne*. The only earlier collection, that made by the Jesuit father Xavier de Montaigu, though prepared for the press, never appeared, and has now been lost: this was in the early eighteenth century, and we

owe our only knowledge of it to a MS. note by Huet quoted by Legrand. But von Haxthausen never printed his songs, and now that they at last appear, well-printed and elaborately edited, they are found to contain but little that is fresh to us. The interest of the book is, therefore, almost exclusively historical. The material, as in all these early collections, comes in the main from Northern Greece and the Ionian Islands, precisely those regions where but little is left of the ballads of mediæval Greece. If the collector had reaped his harvest in the islands of the Aegean, or still better in the Greek parts of Asia Minor, he would no doubt at that time have found much that is now irretrievably lost. Perhaps the principal value of the volume will be found in the music of sixteen of the songs, written down in the ordinary Western notation.

R. M. D.

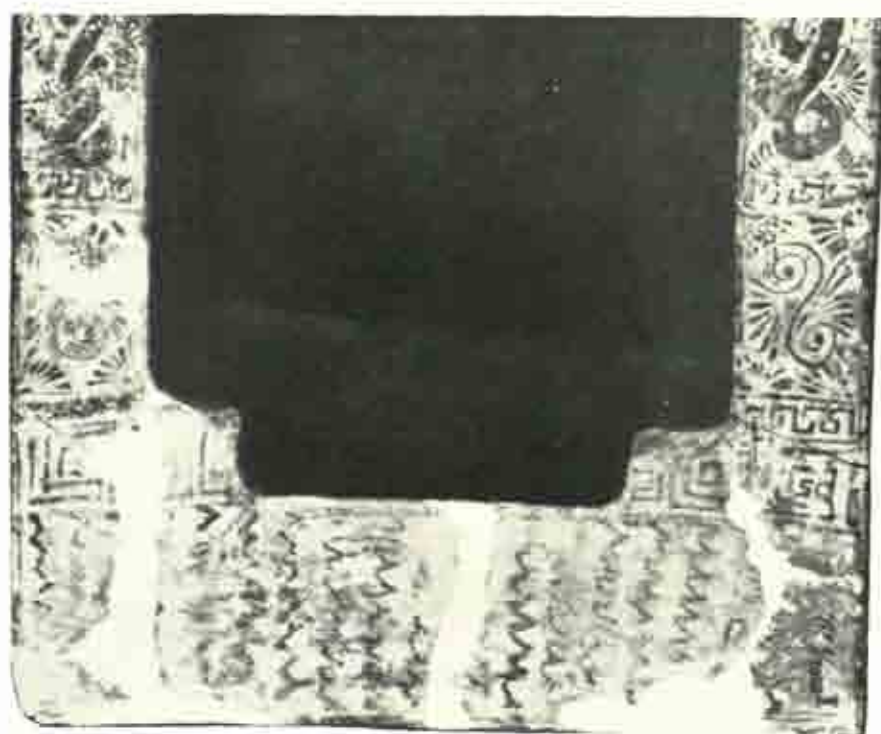


TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGUS IN CAMBRIDGE.





TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



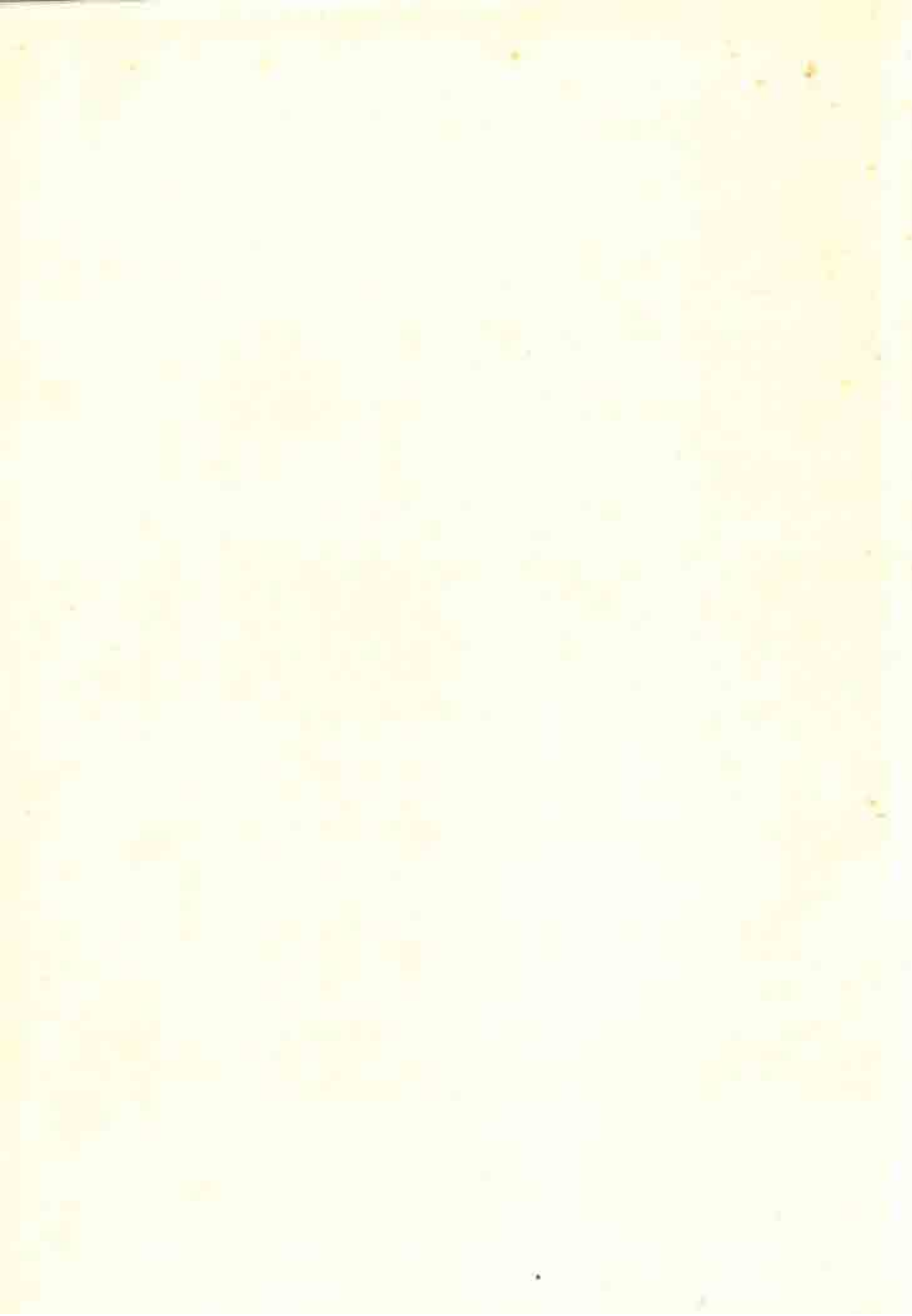
TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGUS IN LEYDEN



TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGUS IN LEIPZIG.



THE RECEPTION OF THESEUS IN ATTICA.
Vase in the Collection of Mr. Edward Armytage.



THE BRITISH ACADEMY

CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded a Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules:—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.
 2. Any such persons desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.
 3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.
 4. Any Essay already published, or which has already received or is in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.
 5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.
 6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.
- Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'



The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

50, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C. 1

President: HUGH LAST, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

THE subjects to promote the study of which the Society was formed are the history, archaeology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about 700 A.D. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to the wider objects with which it is concerned, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation by devoting space in its Journal to articles on Romano-British history and archaeology.

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TAL ATCHANA

[PLATES VI-VIII.]

IN the spring of 1935 I was commissioned by the Trustees of the British Museum to examine the possibilities of excavation in North Syria. The object which I had in view was the discovery of any links that might exist between the civilisation of Minoan Crete and that of the Asian mainland, and to a large extent therefore the search was conditioned by the geographical nature of the country. If such connexion existed it would require trade-routes, and it was only along those that material evidence of inter-communication could be found; therefore the first requisite was a harbour as a terminus for the oversea traffic and easy communications between the harbour and the interior, *i.e.*, communications not merely with the immediate hinterland, but also with the known cultural centres of the Near East. By the latter consideration the southern coast sites were ruled out; Palestine was never other than a poor country; South Syria was not likely to be profitable, for, in spite of its importance, Damascus is difficult of access from the sea,¹ and from it the caravan route to Mesopotamia has to make the big detour round the north end of the Syrian desert. Geographically North Syria had everything in its favour, since it gave easy direct contact with the Hittite cities of the Anatolian fringe and no less easy passage to Mesopotamia either by water down the Euphrates or by the caravan route through the fertile land along the river-bank. An economic argument strengthened the North Syrian case. To the east of Antioch stretches the great Amk plain, dotted with the ruins of a hundred ancient cities and villages; the prosperity to which these bear witness might well have been in part due to foreign trade, and at least the large population of the plain would have afforded to foreign merchants a valuable interim market and a centre of exchange. It was to North Syria consequently that I turned all my attention.

At the very outset I received encouragement. Mr. C. W. McEwan, Director of the Oriental Institute's Expedition in North Syria, very kindly allowed me to examine the material resulting from their three years of work, and amongst the potsherds from the deepest level touched at Tal Tchakaltepe, a mound on the eastern margin of the Amk plain, I recognised fragments of two painted pots with definite Minoan connexions. To this extent what had been a mere theory was substantiated; there had been Minoan contacts, and it was at any rate probable that the line of contact ran through the Amk plain.

¹ Tripoli-Homs-Damascus is the best route, only the latter part of it being at all difficult; but political conditions were not always favourable for through traffic.



The geographical facts are these. Most of the North Syrian coast presents an absolute barrier to any oversea connexions. The mountains fall abruptly into the sea, the rocky shore is exposed to every adverse wind and to every swell, and while natural harbours are virtually non-existent even comparatively safe roadsteads are extremely few. The Gulf of Alexandretta would appear to afford the best facilities, and at the south end of it are the ruins of Arsus which, although overlaid by a thick deposit of Byzantine and Roman remains, probably do go back to an early period. But the site was not very attractive. The Alexandretta plain is of recent formation, and I could find in it nothing of earlier than Roman date; in ancient times the road from Arsus must have skirted the foothills for a distance of about twenty-five miles before turning inland to take the Beilan pass to the Amk; and even the Beilan pass, although it has been for centuries the only road from Aleppo to the Mediterranean, was until very recently none too easy, with violent gradients and at least one rock-cut track along a precipice.

South of Arsus Gebel Musa, rising directly from the sea, blocks all communication between the Alexandretta gulf and the wide and shallow gulf of Sueidieh; this alluvial plain has the ruins of Seleucia at its rocky northern end and the Orontes mouth towards its southern limits, where Mount Casius closes it in. At the foot of Mount Casius, again, there is no possible anchorage. Between this and Latakia—or rather, between it and the *Leukos Hormos* of the ancients, Mina-t-al Beda of recent archaeology—there is but one harbour, Basit, lying under the promontory of that name. Basit has been identified by most with the ancient Posidium, and there are Roman ruins there, but no trace of anything pre-Roman can be seen, and the harbour answers ill to our requirements, for it is almost inaccessible from the land and can never have been the gateway for any considerable foreign trade; the precipitous road that runs from it inland leads only into the wild hill country where no ancient civilisation ventured to intrude. For this is another peculiarity of North Syria which profoundly affects our present problem. In the few places on the coast where Nature has provided facilities there are ancient sites which, so far as we know as yet, tend to be not Asian, but Greek in character—Mina-t-al Beda, the Mina of Sueidieh, perhaps also Arsus; inland on the flat ground of the Amk plain and in the Ghrab valley to the south of it and down as far as Kadesh there are innumerable ruins of ancient towns, but these stop short at the foothills; and in the mountain barrier that shuts off the plains from the sea no one has yet found any vestige of pre-Roman culture. In antiquity the mountains were densely wooded; their inhabitants must have been wood-cutters, huntsmen and perhaps miners (since both gold and copper are to be found in the hills), men who were strangers to town life, of whose rude and temporary dwellings no trace is likely to remain. It is certain that the civilised people of the inland cities left the hills severely alone. As a difficulty in the way of oversea trade there was added to the natural obstacle of the mountains the savage character of the mountaineers, and the greater importance therefore would attach to the easiest and shortest route from the Amk to the sea.

This route is given by the Orontes valley. The river-mouth afforded to the small vessels of the old world a roadstead safe in the worst weather and for the pack-animals of the merchants the road was easy going, following the river for the most part and elsewhere crossing rolling but open country, while the river itself was navigable by boat as far as Antioch, then not yet built. If a door was to be opened between the Greek islands and the East, this was the ideal place for it. In consultation with the late M. Claude Prost, whose death last summer was a heavy blow to Syrian archaeology, I selected as sites for excavation a small and insignificant mound, al Mina, at the mouth of the Orontes, where I hoped to find the ancient port, and three sites in the Amk, where the trade route debouches from the Antioch foothills and crosses the great plain in the direction of Aleppo. The Department of Antiquities of the French Mandatory Power readily gave permission for excavations at the first site and for *sondages* on the other three, with a view to regular work being undertaken on whichever should be found to promise best; the expedition was planned for 1936.

When the scheme was put forward, the Trustees of the British Museum decided, much to my regret, that the state of the Museum's finances did not warrant them in supporting out of its funds an expedition whose commitments it was difficult to calculate and its avowed purpose admittedly very speculative; it looked as if the hunt for Minoan civilisation in Syria would have to be postponed, if not abandoned. At this juncture Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm came forward and sponsored a fund for despatching the expedition under the aegis and for the benefit of the British Museum; the Ashmolean Museum joined with a handsome contribution, and the Trustees granted the assistance of Mr. F. N. Pryce to deal with the pottery—a branch of the subject which I was far from being qualified to handle myself. My wife was responsible for all the drawings of pottery etc., as well as helping in the field work, and the staff was completed by Mr. P. D. Murray-Threipland, who had been with us at Ur in 1932-3. Hamoudi and his sons who had been with me at Ur rejoined us for our Syrian excavation. Work was begun in March and continued until late in June.

Most of the season was spent in the excavation of the Mina site; the results of which will be described elsewhere. Suffice it to say here that at Mina itself no Minoan remains were found, thanks, I believe, to the fact that a very large part of the mound, and that the earlier part, has been eroded and swept out to sea by the shifting stream of the Orontes. Two miles up the valley another site, the town on which the port depended, did produce Mycenaean potsherds, but here again denudation, of another sort this time, had made it unprofitable for excavation. We have proof of the Mycenaean occupation of this Sabouni site, proof of the commercial activity of the actual port from the time of Alexander the Great back to the ninth century B.C., but while it is fairly safe to argue that this continuous history must have gone yet farther back in time and that al Mina was indeed the harbour for the Minoan merchant adventurers, we have as yet no material proof that this was so. But at Tal Atchana the case is different.

Of the three inland sites Atchana² seemed from the outset the most promising. It lies on the right or east bank of the Orontes, now 500 metres away from its foot, just to the south of the straight line across the plain from the point where the river enters the Antioch foothills to the easy slope whereby the Aleppo road mounts the ridge at the plain's eastern edge. Most of the larger mounds in the Amk are lofty with extremely steep sides, and are, roughly speaking, oval in plan; they are military posts, and if there are important buildings connected with them, such would be found rather at the mound's foot than on its summit. Tal Atchana is relatively low, long and saddle-shaped, measuring about 750 by 300 metres; like the similarly-formed Tal Taianat close by, it should mark the remains of a city. It is curious that two such 'tells,' Atchana and Taianat, should lie within little more than 700 metres of each other. At Taianat the Oriental Institute has found a palace building dating between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C., the three levels of reconstruction all seeming to fall within this comparatively short time limit; below the original palace trial-pits shew prehistoric remains only. It is possible that Atchana represents just those periods which fail at Taianat; certainly the latest remains there precede the earliest of the Taianat historic levels, and the depth of the mound might well account for the long period between the prehistoric and the eighth century; be that as it may, the two mounds are not dissimilar in size and form, and are alike civilian in character, though different, and perhaps complementary, in date.

Owing to a variety of circumstances, very little work could be done at Atchana in 1936; what was done was in the nature of *sondages* only³ and employed a maximum of forty men for ten days, part of which time was spent in replacing the excavated soil. Two trenches were marked out, each 60 metres long by 2 metres wide, echeloned along the crest of the mound, and they were dug to a depth of rather less, on the average, than 2 metres: from work on so small a scale little could be expected.

The N.W. trench encountered just below the surface wall foundations in limestone rubble, two to three courses high and 1.80 m. thick, which had been carried up in mud brick. No true floor was found in connexion with them, but a very definite line of potsherds marked what was certainly a surface or ground-level about 0.40 m. above the bottom of the rubble courses; the sherds were mostly of local ware, but one or two Mycenaean pieces occurred on or above this old surface. At 1.00 m. below it was a well-made floor of mud brick originally overlaid with a coat of fine white cement, smoothed and burnished; in patches the cement was preserved, but over much of the area it had disappeared. On the floor rested a single basalt block with one finely polished face, 0.82 m. \times 0.62 m., a facing-stone from the lower part of an exterior wall, resembling exactly the basalt orthostats of Hittite buildings and recalling the gypsum facing-slabs of Cretan palaces. Presumably it came from the outer wall of the building

² On the French maps the mound is named Marouche and the tiny hamlet on its eastern end is called Atchana; Marouche is the name of a somewhat larger village half a mile away. Local use is

divided between the two names, but on the whole Atchana seems the more generally employed.

³ Our permit extended only to the making of *sondages*.

inside which it was found, for it lay immediately on the floor, and, owing to its weight is not likely to have been moved any great distance. In the centre of the trench the floor was broken by a contemporary circular shaft, 1.80 m. in diameter, with walls well constructed in burnt brick; they went down for 1.25 m. below floor-level, and rested on a mass of rough boulders, several courses thick, which formed the bottom of the shaft; the purpose of this shaft could not be determined in the time at our disposal. Several walls of mud brick ran across the trench or could be distinguished in its sides, but within the narrow limits of the trench no plan could be made out; the filling between the walls was very clean, consisting of decomposed mud brick. On the floor level were found several sherds of Cretan character (M.M. III), and standing upright in the filling was a bronze sword, with the fittings of its lunate handle complete (Fig. 2), which is not Minoan, but Asiatic; a similar sword has been found in Egypt belonging to the

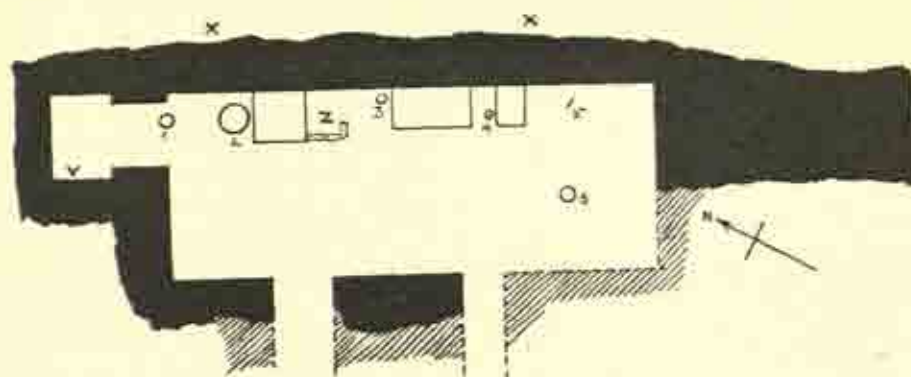


FIG. 1.—SKETCH PLAN OF EXCAVATED CHAMBER AT TAL ATCHANA.
(Scale 1:160.)

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| XX = Walls standing to 1.00 m. | 3 = Pottery ring-stand. |
| Y = Wall face originally panelled. | 4 = Small socket stone. |
| Z = Hearth made with bricks set on edge. | 5 = Bronze chisel. |
| 1 = Stone tripod bowl. | 6 = Stone tripod bowl. |
| 2 = Bowl set in floor as a hearth. | |

Hyksos period,⁴ and the handle recalls a very much earlier dagger found at Ur.⁵

The second trench, cut through the central rise of the mound, at once produced at its N.W. end walls which rose to the modern ground surface. At this point the trench was widened so as to lay bare the greater part of a small chamber whose ground-plan is given on Fig. 1. The maximum height of the walls was 1.00 m., and of certain projections from the main line it was impossible to say whether they were themselves walls, or buttresses, or bases originally not much higher than they are at present. The walls, very solidly built, were of mud brick, but they had been burnt and hardened by a conflagration which had destroyed the building; the mud-brick floor was thickly covered with ashes. There was an entrance on the S.W. side, and against the wall opposite to it were two such buttresses or bases, that to the S.E. flanked by a smaller projection; the fact that a

⁴ See Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, Pl. XXXIII. D-4.

⁵ *Royal Tomb*, Pl. 154b.



hinge-stone for a door was found apparently *in situ* between the latter two would suggest that they rose fairly high and had a cupboard between them. Two rather rough stone tripod bowls were standing on the floor; a clay pot against the N.W. buttress seemed to have served as a hearth, since it was full of ashes; in it were lying a bronze adze and a curved bronze blade, Fig. 3. A pottery ring-stand for a vase stood against the second buttress, and a socketed bronze chisel lay on the floor at the S.E. end of the room. The walls had been for the most part mud-plastered, but in the small N.W. recess horizontal beams had been incorporated in the brickwork of the face of one wall (Y), and by the analogy of the building discovered on Tal Taianat we can safely assume that this was to secure an all-over panelling. In the room there were found a few pieces of Mycenaean pottery and two or three pieces of Middle Minoan III character.

The S.E. wall of the room was about 5.00 m. thick. At c. 6.00 m. to the S.E. of it there stood a large clay pot (diam. 0.80 m.) set in a base or platform of burnt bricks 0.27 m. sq. \times 0.05-6 m. thick having two impressed finger-marks in the middle of one face; the base was at least 3.00 m. long, but was not fully excavated, since it ran into the side of our trench. The rim of the pot rose 0.30 m. above the level of the brickwork; the latter was 1.80 m. below the modern surface and 0.30 m. below the level of the brick floor of the excavated room to the N.W. A clay floor flush with the burnt-brick base ran across the trench, and was bounded on the N.E. by a mud-brick wall which could be distinguished in the trench side; a branch wall 0.90 m. thick had run across the trench, and the same floor level continued beyond it to the N.W. The floor was covered with ashes, and above the ashes was a mass of fallen mud brick, much of it accidentally burnt; this part of the building had therefore shared the fate of the small excavated room. On the floor was a low bin of coarse pottery in which were two store-vessels, about 1.00 m. away from the large jar set in the brick base; amongst the ashes were quantities of pottery, and here were found the fragments of the 'double axe' vase (Pl. VI) and many of those with white rosette pattern on black ground (Pl. VII). Below the floor were remains of earlier walls with rough stone foundations, but no pottery of M.M. III character was associated with this lower level. It would certainly seem that the S.E. buildings, in spite of being at a lower level than the excavated chamber, are contemporary with it; but further excavation is required before that can be positively asserted. In the excavated chamber *sondages* below the brick floor shewed rough stone foundations a metre down, set forward 0.40 m.-0.60 m. inside the lines of the existing walls; but the correlation of these, too, would be premature at present.

At less than 10.00 m. to the S.E. of the brick base the clay floor could no longer be traced, owing to the slope of the ground, which here brought its level closer to the modern surface, and stratification was therefore no longer clear. More fragments of pottery of M.M. III type were found between 1.50 m. and 1.70 m. from the surface, amongst them one or two belonging to the 'double axe' vase, which proved that levels were fairly continuous, and to the 'bird' vase with white design on a red ground (Pl. VIII); in spite of the absence of burnt mud brick, it would seem that here



FIG. 2.—SWORD FROM TAL ATCHANA.



FIG. 3.—BRONZE ADZE AND CURVED BLADE FROM TAL ATCHANA.

we were still within the limits of the burnt building. One or two Mycenaean sherds also came from this part of the trench, but it was not possible to decide their relation to the other pottery; there were even some indications of a

surface or floor at a higher level, with which they may perhaps have been associated. A number of small bronzes were found in the trench with the painted pottery.

It is obvious that we have as yet but scratched the surface of an infinitesimal fraction of the Atchana mound, and it would not be right to base any far-reaching conclusions on our results. It can, however, be stated that we have, in the upper part of the mound, the remains of a large and important building which was destroyed by fire and, not having been subsequently disturbed, should be rich in objects; if our mere trenches have yielded so disproportionate a harvest of small finds it is but reasonable to hope that excavation on a wider scale would be well rewarded. Further, it is quite clear that the building belongs to a period when there was active communication between North Syria, with its Anatolian and Mesopotamian connexions, and Minoan Crete. Since Sir Arthur Evans is dealing with the painted pottery, there is no need for me to discuss it here; but I would emphasise the point that further work at Atchana is imperative, because our present results, while they have given us new facts of great historical importance, have really posed a problem which they are far from solving.

Dr. Schaeffer has recently found at Ras Shamra a sherd of Middle Minoan II ware which is indubitably imported from Crete. Some of our Atchana sherds are unmistakably Cretan in character, but they are of local fabric. Are we to assume that in the M.M. III period the influence of Knossos was so profound on the North Syrian coast that native potters were producing painted pots which, were it not for the nature of the clay, might easily pass as Cretan originals? That is, of course, possible. But no one looking at the 'double axe' fragment would judge it to be the work of a copyist imitating an alien style; rather it bears all the stamp of an original and creative artist; and the difficulty is increased by the fragments with animal motives, which seem to be informed by the Minoan spirit yet have no parallels in Crete. Further, some of the pottery, however closely it may recall the M.M. III island wares, presents analogies no less striking with the painted pottery of Nuzi and Tal Billah^a—the form of some vessels as well as the decoration is similar—and it would be rash indeed to suggest that Minoan influence made itself strongly felt so far afield as the eastern bank of the Tigris. Can it be that we are on the track of a culture indigenous to Asia (one thinks of the *Keshtu*) which supplied to Crete one of the elements that helped to make possible the marvellous civilisation of the Middle Minoan period and, by maintaining close relations with the island, kept alive a spirit so much in common that the Asiatic potter could produce wares almost indistinguishable from those of Knossos itself?

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LEONARD WOOLLEY.

^a Speiser in *The Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, xxiii, pl. LXI, no. 3.

SOME NOTES ON THE TAL ATCHANA POTTERY

THE fabric of the group of sherds examined by me was certainly indigenous and, in spite of the strong Minoan influence visible in some cases, no imported Cretan ware was traceable.

The evidences of Cretan influence, however, are unmistakable.

The large cups or bowls, of somewhat thin make, showing white rosettes on a dark ground, which are here exceptionally forthcoming, may certainly

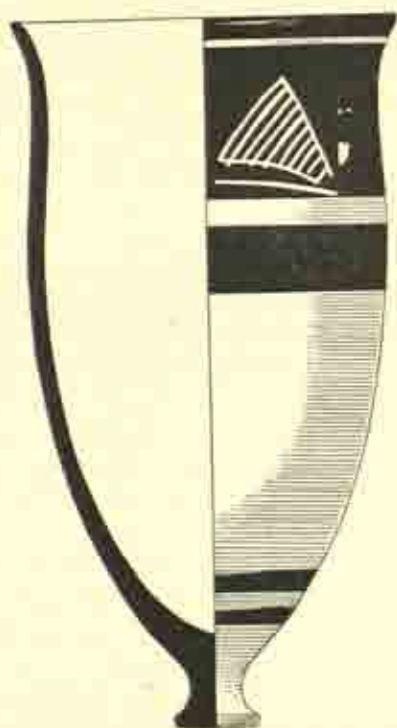


FIG. 1.—GOBLET, RESTORED, FROM TAL ATCHANA.

be regarded as derivatives of the egg-shell cups, with dark, metallic lustre ground and similar white rosettes, that characterise the finest M.M. IIa technique. That exquisite bowls of this class presenting decorative details that point to the Knossian Palace fabric were actually reaching the Syrian Coast by the approximate date of 1900 B.C. is now demonstrated by the fragment—the first-fruits of a still unexplored Ras Shamra tomb—kindly lent by Monsieur Claude Schaeffer and the authorities of the Louvre Museum to the Minoan Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts. In the case of the Tal Atchana specimens, where the parallels belong to only one comparatively simple class of decoration and the whole fabric is of an inferior

and imitative kind it is obvious that we may have to deal with a distinctly later dating. The white on dark rosettes themselves were still a common decorative motive in the later phase (*b*) of M.M. II which carries us down to about 1700 B.C. But the survival of this in a local style may clearly have gone down still later.

Traces of polychromy (which, however, survived in a decadent form through M.M. III) are indeed still visible on two of these Tal Atchana sherds in the form of horizontal scarlet bands, though only faintly traceable.

The most patent proof of a direct Minoan influence is supplied by a group of fragments of a larger vessel, of which it may be hoped that the remaining parts will be recovered, presenting an elaborately decorative scheme in the same creamy-white colouring on a dark ground. These represent a curious outgrowth of Minoan Religious Art, the 'double-axe tree' already illustrated by a parallel design on a Cretan burial urn of M.M. III*b* style (*c.* 1600-1550 B.C.), from Pachyammos in East Crete.¹

In that case the axes springing from the plant are of the single-edged type. On the Tal Atchana vase (Pl. VI) both this and the double-edged form occur. The plant itself alternately terminates above in a papyrus tuft and in a kind of fleur-de-lis. The 'axe-plant' of the Cretan urn also shows liliaceous stems.

It is to be noted that the two creamy-white lines with rows of white dots between them that appears on the 'Axe-plant' vase of Tal Atchana, recurs as an ornamental feature of the axe-blade itself on the Cretan urn. The white linear arcading on axe-blades of the latter is seen, moreover, in alternate zones on the Tal Atchana sherds described below with the indigenous 'duck' type. As the jar from the Pachyammos Cemetery belongs definitely to the M.M. III*b* style it looks, therefore, as if part at least of the Tal Atchana pottery might be brought down to the first half of the sixteenth century B.C.

The duck motives on the sherds referred to (Pl. VIII) are of a highly conventionalised type, with pairs of wings succeeding each other, like fins on a fish's back. They bear a distinct analogy to certain Palestinian versions of the same subject. On the other hand, the high goblet (Fig. 1) with disproportionately small base belongs to a well-known class that extends to the Euphrates and beyond.

We must look in the same way to indigenous influences for the motive of the up-rearing goat charged by another, depicted on sherds presenting the same creamy-white on dark technique as the double-axe tree (Pl. VIII). For it is certain that, owing to some unexplained cause, animal designs were tabooed in vase painting for the whole duration of the Age of Palaces—a space of some five or six centuries, extending from M.M. Ia to L.M. II.

Youlbury, Berks.

ARTHUR EVANS.

¹ R. B. Seager, *Pachyammos*, Pl. XVII and p. 25 and see A. E., *P. of M.* i. pp. 609, 610 and Fig. 448. The jar has 'scalloped' handles (creamy white on a dark ground) and its body has a pale reddish ground. The single-bladed axes here represented

show linear decoration including dotted bands and arcading. Although the decoration of this vessel is partly dark on a light ground, the style on the whole comes well within the M.M. III*b* limits.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1935-1936

[PLATES IX, X.]

THIS account owes much to the kind co-operation of those who at short notice supplied me with information and photographs; I would here offer my thanks to them, and also to Professor Karo, who generously placed at my disposal the typescript of his article for the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, to Mr. T. J. Dunbabin, without whose assistance it could not have been completed, and finally to Professor Myres, who has kindly read it.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

A stretch of the north wall of the *Acropolis* was threatened with collapse by a fracture in the rock which supports it;¹ the rock has accordingly been underpinned with solid masonry at this point, and extensive reinforcements of the same kind have been provided at other weak points. The character of the rock face has been considerably altered by this work, but a disaster has been averted; care has been taken to preserve such ancient features as the underground passage from the *Aglaurion*.

Broneer has followed up his investigations on the north slope of the *Acropolis* by an examination of the cave at the east end. In removing the top of the dump from the entrance to the cave a number of important pottery fragments were found, some of which join with the *Acropolis* vases.² Within the cave a stele cut on the right-hand side of the entrance provides the solitary evidence of occupation in antiquity.

Under the direction of Balanos, progress has been made in the work of consolidating the Nike Bastion. The temple of Nike has been dismembered stone by stone, and in investigating the substructures important discoveries were made about its archaic predecessors and about the disposition of the Mycenaean fortifications at this point. In the south wall was found a new panel from the balustrade: a winged Nike, complete save for the front of the face (*AJA* 1936, 148, figs. 3-4).

Major repairs to the roof of the *Acropolis* Museum are now in progress. The room of the *Korai* is to be provided with a top-light, and the area for display, at present quite inadequate, will be increased by the inclusion of the triangular space between the Museum and the *Apotheke* behind it.

Thompson and Scranton of the American School, working in conjunction with Kourouniotis, are uncovering unexamined stretches of the city wall which runs from the Hill of the Nymphs to the church of St. Demetrios below the *Philopappos* hill.

In the *Agora*, Shear has continued the systematic excavation of the

¹ Cf. the photograph, *Hesperia* iv, 130, fig. 14.

² *Hesperia* v, 2, 247 ff.

American School's concession.³ A further season's work has added to the central area of the excavations in almost every direction. The Theseion plateau, the Kolonos Agoraios, has been further cleared. Traces of metal working discovered all over the hill confirm the identification of the Theseion with the Hephaisteion. Immediately to the south of the Temple a quantity of flower-pots and a row of pits were found, suggesting that a garden was laid out at this point in Late Hellenistic or Early Roman times. As before, a number of Protogeometric and Geometric burials were found, and one late Mycenaean, just west of the Theseion. A well on the south slope produced an important deposit of seventh-century pottery, including Protocorinthian, Protoattic and Attic imitations (Fig. 1). On the lower slope remains of classical and later houses were found. Adjoining the Theseion on the north the remains of a long, rectangular building of late date have been uncovered; it is divided into three aisles by two rows of eight columns.

Further examination of the building in the north-west corner of the Agora, identified as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, has revealed a return of the main colonnade at its north end, to form a second projecting wing. Most of this wing lies under the railway, but measurements and photographs taken when the railway was laid have enabled the American excavators to estimate the total length of the building at 45 metres. The building thus terminates considerably before the probable line of the Dipylon road is reached. Part of a late Hellenistic stoa has, indeed, been discovered, but it falls outside the Agora proper, to the west, and faces south on to a narrow road which runs towards the north end of the Zeus stoa. The position of the Stoa Basileios, *πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ*,⁴ remains obscure, but there is ample space for it northwest of the Stoa of Zeus and between that building and the main road to the Dipylon.

Throughout the north-west section of the Agora area there are traces of an extensive Byzantine suburb which lasted, with a series of burnings and rebuilding, from the tenth to the early thirteenth century. Several house-plans have been recovered, and the upper levels have produced a number of pottery deposits with associated coins.

Beyond the former southern limit of the excavations has been found the middle section of yet another stoa, facing north and aligning approximately with the south wall of the Fountain House identified as Enneakrounos. It belongs to the same Hellenistic complex as the Stoa of Attalos and the long building which crosses the Agora in the east-west direction, formerly named the South Stoa. In front of the Stoa of Attalos the foundations of a small Roman building have been uncovered; it is circular in plan. Under the north end of the stoa the building partly exposed in the railway cutting and in the Greek excavation east of the stoa has now been further excavated; it had a spacious central court surrounded by a peristyle on the four sides. Its west wall falling considerably to the west of the Stoa of Attalos indicates the eastern limit of the Market Square in classical times,

³ He has published a detailed account of the 1935 campaign in *Hesperia*, v, 1-42.

⁴ Pausanias, I, iii, 1.

and its north wall, visible in the railway cutting, is suggestive for the northern limit.

The task of clearing the Valerian Wall was continued. Beyond the third



FIG. 1.—ATHENS: PROTOATTIC POTTERY FROM THE AGORA.

bastion to the south of the Stoa of Attalos and inside the wall, the foundation of a small archaic building was found. It lies outside the Agora area, but borders the ancient road leading from it to the Acropolis.

The outstanding individual find of the season is an ivory statuette,

about 0.30 metre high, found in a well on the Kolonos Agoraios (Pl. IX). The surface is excellently preserved and, though found in over two hundred fragments, the figure is practically complete. The statuette belongs to the type of the Apollo Lykeios attributed to Praxiteles, but as it stands lacks the bow and supporting column of Lucian's description (*Anacharsis*, 7). The heavy proportion and extreme shortness of the leg suggest to some the hand of a Roman copyist. But in the absence of ivory copies of Roman date, and in view of the fine quality of surface and details, Shear prefers to regard it as a contemporary fourth-century copy of the original statue.

A second outstanding find came from a cistern in the same part of the excavation. It is an oval bronze shield 0.93 metre long, on which has been roughly punched the following inscription: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜ . . . ΙΩΝ ΕΚ . . . ΛΟ (Fig. 2). The final word is confidently restored as ΠΥΛΟ, and the shield is one of those which were captured from the Spartans in Pylos in 424 B.C. and dedicated in the Painted Stoa, where they survived until Pausanias' visit.⁵

The new inscriptions include a part of the base on which stood the statues of the Tyrannicides. Of the dedicatory epigram the ends of the two elegiac distichs are preserved; the first can be restored from an epigram attributed to Simonides, the second is not otherwise known. Another base, which carried a group of Demeter and Kore, bears the signature of Praxiteles.

Part of an ancient cemetery has been uncovered at 28 *Lenormant Street*, to the south-west of the Peloponnese Railway station. Fragments of a red-figure kylix in the style of the Panaitios painter were found during the construction of new cellarage, and the discovery led to the systematic investigation of the site by a small party from the American excavations in the Agora in conjunction with the Greek Archaeological Department. A series of fifth-century burials was cleared, and a few other of later date. Two of the fifth-century burials were in cremation pits like those reported from the Kerameikos and Stadium Street cemeteries; in one was found a white-ground lekythos attributed to the Thanatos painter. An ancient road 4.50 metres wide was encountered in the western part of the site.

In the *Kerameikos*, under the direction of Kübler, the clearance of the areas by Piraeus Street and under H. Trias has now been completed (Fig. 3). In the former area ten more Protogeometric and Geometric graves were discovered; excepting only a few of the Geometric, all were cremations of the types reported last year (*JHS* 55, 152-153). The pottery, which includes complete Protogeometric amphorae (Fig. 4a), illustrates the unbroken development from Protogeometric to Geometric. Among the later finds from this part of the excavation is a fine Protoattic krater with two sphinxes facing (Fig. 4b).

In the H. Trias section the earliest grave found this year contained Middle Helladic hand-made pottery: a high-footed bowl, with Cycladic relations; a cup with zig-zag and dot-rosettes in white on black; and a red mug, a development of the EH shape. Of the later pottery finds the most

⁵ Pausanias, I, xv, 5.



FIG. 2.—ATHENS: INSCRIBED SHIELD FROM THE AGORA.



FIG. 3.—ATHENS: GENERAL VIEW OF THE KERAMEIKOS EXCAVATION.

interesting is a Protocorinthian stemmed kylix, a shape not otherwise known in the ware, from a Late Geometric inhumation. Two grave-mounds, one of the second half of the seventh century, the other perhaps of the early sixth were surmounted each by the base and lower part of an uninscribed grave-stele. These are the earliest Attic grave-stelai known, if we except the rough gravestones of the Geometric period. Under a third mound was a rectangular shaft-grave of the fifth century. It proved to be a cenotaph, containing the remains of a wooden coffin and the usual grave furniture, but no trace of either bones or ashes. Immediately above the remains of the wooden coffin lay a poros block, taken evidently from an archaic building; it can not have fallen through the mound, as there was no earth beneath it, but must have been laid there intentionally to take the place of the dead. Another curious fifth-century grave contained a fine bronze lebes (Fig. 5), in which the ashes of the dead were wrapped in a purple material. The lebes was itself wrapped in a second cloth and laid inside a wooden box in a monolith limestone sarcophagus. The burial may be dated to the last quarter of the fifth century by the style of the lebes: the sharp curve of the shoulder and the punctuation of the neck and rim place it later than the Argive lebes *JHS* 46, pl. 14 and the lebes *Metz. Mus. Bull.* 1924, 69, fig. 4. The grave of Hipparete has been recognised in a female burial immediately behind the foundation of her relief; on the left breast was a large plaster rosette, painted and gilded. Kübler suggests that the lebes burial, the sarcophagus containing the fine terracotta protome (*AA* 1935, 274, fig. 6) and the large brick tomb of about 400 found last year all belong to the same complex as the Hipparete relief, and may be associated with the family of Alkibiades.

Under the fourth-century Pompeion, by the old bed of the Eridanos, Johannes has found over a hundred post-holes, at three different levels; they belong evidently to wooden fifth-century predecessors of the Pompeion.

The street outside the Dipylon leading from it towards the Academy has been further excavated by Johannes and Gebauer. A series of post-holes along the channel which bordered the street suggests that a row of stands were erected here for the spectators who watched the start of the torch race. At the junction of the side-street from the direction of the Piraeus there was in the fifth century a factory building fed by a large cistern; it was replaced by a fourth-century house, which in turn gave way to a potter's establishment. The classical buildings were found to be cut into a stratum with Geometric graves. The most interesting individual find from this area was a free-standing head from a high relief of a seated figure, dated to the second half of the fifth century.

The Society of the Friends of the National Museum has published a booklet in which is illustrated part of the Vari find and other pieces which it has acquired for the Museum. Among the Society's recent gifts are a fine LH I jug from Koropi, and a fourth-century bronze mirror from Vonitsa, with a relief representing Dionysos and Ariadne enthroned. The chief acquisitions of the *Numismatic Museum* are fifty fifth- and fourth-century silver staters from Kephallenia, of Corinth, Leukas, Anaktorion, Korkyra, Dyrrachion, and Thyrrion in Akarnania, and fifty-two silver triobols of



FIG. 4.—ATHENS: VASES FROM THE KERAMEIKOS.

the third and second centuries from Kyparissia, of Chalkis, Elis, the Boeotian League, and Lokroi.

The *Benaki Museum* has acquired a late black-figured loutrophoros. A prothesis scene occupies the body of the vase; below it is a frieze of horse-

men, and each face of the neck has a pair of mourners. This is the finest vase known of its shape and period. Among other recent acquisitions are a bronze figurine of a Minoan youth of the 'worshipper' type, naked save for a loin-cloth, with the right hand to the forehead and the left foot slightly advanced; two pieces of Thessalian silver, skyphos and hydria, of the third century B.C., and a group of Byzantine silver bracelets with an interesting repertory of ornament—cufic script, griffons and rosettes—in niello against a gilt background, provincial Greek work of the eleventh century. The Museum has also been enriched by a further donation of 452 pieces from the Eumorfopoulos collection.

In the *Byzantine Museum* has recently been deposited the treasure of the monastery of Soumela near Trebizond; it includes the famous icon of the Panagia Soumeliotissa attributed to St. Luke. The treasure has recently been described and illustrated by Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond.⁶

The building of new premises for the Yacht Club on the Koumoundourou headland above *Tourkolimano* afforded an opportunity for an archaeological examination of the site. Excavations were carried out, under the direction of Oikonomos, in the summer of 1935. On the western slope was discovered part of a curving wall, of well-worked Piraeus stone, assigned to the fifth century; it evidently formed part of the fortifications which protected the hill from the landward side. On the crown of the hill Late Geometric figurines were found, but no structural remains. Excavations on the southern slope, in a deep pocket of earth, produced a large quantity of sherds covering all periods from Geometric to Late Hellenistic, a headless female statue of archaistic style and a number of inscribed sherds. Two of the inscriptions are of great topographical interest. The first—XEPE MOYNIX—confirms the identification of Munychia with Tourkolimano, and the second—N. APTEMIDIOS—locates the temple of Munychian Artemis mentioned by Pausanias, not on the Kastella hill (Judeich, *Topog. v. Athen.*, 452), but on the Koumoundourou headland overlooking the harbour.

At *Eleusis*, Kourouniotis has continued his researches but on a small scale. He has cleared the southern circuit of the Peisistratid wall, and in doing so has uncovered a complex of spacious rooms paved with mosaic in geometric patterns. From their position, adjoining the Telesterion, they appear to be part of the priests' quarters, but the structure requires further examination.

At *Marathon*, Soteriades has continued his excavations in the neighbourhood of the temenos of Herakles, and in the ancient cemetery (cf. *JHS* 54, 189). The finds from the cemetery include a bronze lebes of the fifth century, and vases dating from the fifth to the third century; many of the cremated burials, however, were without votives. The temple yielded fragments of a fine marble throne of the classical period and the drapery and arms of a seated goddess, perhaps Athena. Within the Herakles temenos itself and to the south-west were found two massive walls running east and west; they have been dated to the seventh century,

⁶ *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζούντος*, Athens, 1936, 481 ff.

and Soteriades regards them as part of an archaic temple. The area they enclose is about 32 by 11 metres; it has so far produced only late material.

At *Vari*, Stavropoulos is conducting trial excavations in the hope of locating the deposit which produced the fine series of Early Attic fragments now in the National Museum (cf. *JHS* 55, 154). Further fragments belonging to the same group have come to light in the village, but the excavations have as yet produced no comparable material. North of the village and east of the path to Koropi a small cemetery enclosed by a rough wall has been uncovered. The principal tomb, at the centre, which has a rough stone plinth and traces of a brick superstructure, lies east-west, and is surrounded by smaller tombs parallel to it. At the time of writing the central tomb had not been opened. Of the other burials some are cremated, others inhumed and yet others half burnt; all are overlaid by a thick layer of ashes, but in most cases are without ex-votos. A series of north-south



FIG. 5.—ATHENS: BRONZE LEBES.

burials east of the main tomb is perhaps earlier in date; one of these, overlaid by a stone-enclosed tomb in the other direction, proved the most interesting of all. Beside the skull was a stamped pithos containing a child's bones and a number of complete pots: kotylai, aryballoi and miniature vases, not yet cleaned, but some are certainly Corinthian. The pithos, which is fragmentary, has spirals and rosettes on the ribs and an animal frieze in relief on one of the main registers.

Another important find from the enclosure was an archaic sitting sphinx in poros. Unlike its fellow from Corinth the wing feathers are finely cut, and stylised imbrications cover the chest and right flank, indicating that the head, which is missing, was turned to the right. Part of the pedestal on which it stood, in the form of a fluted column, has also been found.

In the same district, a little to the north of the temple of Apollo at *Vouliagmene* (Zoster), Stavropoulos has excavated a complex building, perhaps an inn for the accommodation of visitors; and farther to the east part of a second building which consists of a semicircular wall of good early fourth-century masonry with a later annexe.

THE PELOPONNESE

At *Corinth*, the American School has continued its excavations, concentrating once more on the Agora area. An important find of early Protocorinthian pottery has been made in a well-fill of the late eighth or early seventh century; it contains a large krater with standing spirals and butterfly patterns on the shoulder, and a number of fragmentary kotylai. The most important discovery of the season was an archaic poros sphinx, lacking only the head and forelegs, which was recovered from a drain in the South Stoa. It stands rather less than a metre high, and is of very fine workmanship, perhaps of the second quarter of the sixth century.

The clearing of the South Basilica is almost completed, and has yielded fragments of its superstructure, sculpture and inscriptions. A further stretch of the South Stoa has been uncovered, and behind it, immediately west of the Roman road which strikes its central point (*AJA* xl, pl. I), a very curious building has been found. The entrance is from the stoa, the walls are of poros blocks and lined with seats, and the main chamber, which is oval in plan, is preceded by a shallow porch with a curved niche at either end. The building is identified as the Bouleuterion of the Roman city, and is evidently not earlier than the first century A.D.

In the centre of the Agora, at the west end of the line of Roman shops, which have now been completely excavated, a Roman propylaeum foundation has been discovered. The central unit shewed on the façade two columns between broad antae, and was flanked by chambers at a lower level, open to the north. The propylaeum, which lies approximately on the axis of the Lechaicum road, evidently provided a passage from the north to the south section of the Agora between a long line of shops and led to the Roman road which traversed the South Stoa. The propylaeum foundations were overlaid by those of a three-aisled church with narthex and porch, dating perhaps from the tenth century. With this later level were associated portions of the sculptured decoration of the church and numerous burials, including one with bronze jewellery and tenth-century coins.

Blakeway and Dunbabin excavated in July at Monasteri in the *Petachora*. The site is about three hours from the Heraeum on the other side of the promontory, and its natural connexions are with Asprocampo.

Eleven undisturbed sarcophagi were found, and other deposits bring the number of burials to twenty. They form a compact group belonging to the century ca. 570-470 B.C. The earliest material, unfortunately all from disturbed graves, is Attic black-figured, including Siana cups, with Late Corinthian, the last gasp of the animal-frieze style. There is much new evidence on the dating of Late Corinthian, especially of the last half of the sixth century, which confirms the conclusions of *Necrocorinthia*. In particular, large kotylai of the type *NC* no. 973, fig. 151 are shewn to last into the early fifth century. Lekanides of a shape not represented in *NC* p. 336, a development of *NC* fig. 148, are frequent. Associations with Attic cups and lekythoi will give fairly exact dates for these types.

The most important single piece is a pelike of ca. 470 (Pl. X), by a mannerist, according to Beazley a colleague of the Pig Painter. There is

a fine Late Corinthian panel-amphora of *ca.* 560, a bearded head on one side, siren on the other. A bronze belt, of rectangular open-work pieces with a running gorgon in each, is in a poor state of preservation.

There are certainly other graves in the neighbourhood, probably in similar small groups. The inhabited area lay on and behind a natural acropolis, which was not fortified. There are architectural terracottas from a small temple probably beneath the church, and surface sherds shew that a considerable area was occupied in the archaic period. Further investigation should throw much light on the organisation of the population of the Perachora.

Persson has continued his excavations at *Berbat* near Mycenae.⁷ The principal task of the present campaign has been to clear part of the town site on the east slope of the Acropolis, where a number of house plans, from a sequence of prehistoric occupations, have been recovered. A little Early Helladic pottery was found, some complete Middle Helladic vases, but the bulk of the pottery, like the main settlement, is Late Helladic. In the neighbourhood of the tholos tomb discovered last year (Fig. 6) were found a number of Late Mycenaean rock-cut chamber tombs, which yielded a fine series of complete pots (Fig. 7). In the same area several geometric burials have been cleared, and one with five Corinthian vases.

At *Sikyon*, Orlandos has established that the total length of the gymnasium was 72.15 metres. The compartments surrounding the central area have been further excavated; in one of them was an important deposit of architectural terracottas. Outside the south wall were found several Doric and Ionic drums and capitals, associated with Hellenistic lamps and third-century coins, which support Orlandos' identification of the building as the work of Kleinius. The large Roman building which adjoins the gymnasium is to be used as a museum; in clearing it a number of Roman sculptures was found, a fourth-century statue of Asklepios and a mosaic of the fourth or third century B.C.

Kyparissis has investigated a Mycenaean necropolis near *Tsaplaneika* in Achaia, finding LH III. pottery with agate beads and other small finds.

At *Assea* near Tripolis a Swedish expedition under Holmberg has begun to excavate a prehistoric town-site.

CENTRAL GREECE

At *Chlimbotsari* in Boeotia, in what appears to have been an extensive necropolis, Platon has examined a plundered fifth-century tomb. At *Karditza* (Akraiphiai) graves with Late Geometric and Protocorinthian vases were opened by Chorapas. Further examination of this cemetery, and of the settlement to which it belongs, may throw light on the early history of the neighbouring Ptoan sanctuary. There has been no excavation this year at Ptoon or Kastraki.

At *Delphi* during a violent winter storm a swollen torrent diverted its course into the sanctuary, carrying a mass of detritus over the site, destroying part of the polygonal wall, filling the Sacred Way and seriously damaging

⁷ Cf. report on the first season's work by Wace, *Illustrated London News*, 15th Feb., 1936.



FIG. 6.—BERBATI: THOLOS TOMB.



FIG. 7.—BERBATI: MYCENAEAN VASES.

the Museum. The French School has spared no pains to repair the damage and to prevent a recurrence of the disaster by building a barrage above the site.

NORTH-WEST GREECE

Evangelides has resumed work at *Dodona*, clearing the buildings previously discovered, and excavating a small Treasury. The finds include Geometric and Early Archaic bronzes, and lead tablets inscribed with appeals to the oracle. Evangelides also reports the discovery of the foundations of a Hellenistic temple at *Radolevi* near Ioannina.

THESSALY

At *Nea Anchialos*, Soteriou has continued the excavation of the fourth basilica which, in 1934, was discovered outside the walls of the Early Christian town. Like other basilicas found on the site, it was of the three-aisle type with galleries and had both narthex and atrium. The nave and narthex were covered with marble paving, the bema with *opus sectile*, and the side aisles, separated by high stylobates, with a mosaic of geometric and floral patterns. The building is assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century. Against the walls of the church was found a series of burial vaults; the largest, communicating with the south aisle by a triple opening, contained two tombs, both robbed, apparently at the time of the destruction of the city. Only one of the vaults was undisturbed; here the dead was laid out naked but for a linen shroud and without votive objects.

In the town itself, and immediately to the west of the Basilica A, a four-roomed bath-building was uncovered. The main compartment, circular in plan, was probably domed; elsewhere the furnaces and a complete hypocaust system have been revealed. The building, which provided the Baptistry and Phiale of the Basilica with water, is the first of its kind to be discovered in close relation to a church.

MACEDONIA

The results of Keramopoulos' last season's investigations in the neighbourhood of *Zotilion* are summarised by Oikonomos (*Εκθεσις*, 1935, 13-15). Among other sites examined one near *Omalé* (Pláxome), an unwallled settlement, has yielded hand-made prehistoric pottery with incised decoration, while a site by *Zotilion* itself with LH III and Iron Age occupations has proved rich both in pottery and bronze.

At *Voskochori*, between Kozane and Verroia, Xyngopoulos has uncovered a three-aisled basilica of the early Christian period. A mosaic pavement which covers the narthex, the nave and the bema is confined to geometric patterns. Two votive inscriptions record that the pavement, and perhaps the church also, is the gift of Philip and Dometia, "ὕπὲρ εὐχῆς."

Traces of what appears to have been an ancient gold mine have been investigated at *Kyparissia* (Kepetzeli) near Kilkis. Seven entrances were found, and one, in a quartz stratum, was excavated to a distance of 32 metres.

On the hill above, a fortified settlement produced both rough hand-made pottery and fragments of Roman wares, and a Roman cemetery was also located in the neighbourhood.

At *H. Panteleemon* (Pateli) Kotzias reports a find in a prehistoric cemetery of twenty-two hand-made pots of an orange-coloured ware; one is painted, three are incised and the rest plain. With the pottery were bronze buttons, a bronze buckle with double spirals, other buckles of iron and a small iron weapon.

In *Salonika* Evangelides has completed the restorations of the church of the Panagia ton Chalkeon. Kotzias reports isolated discoveries in different parts of the town, including a public fountain, with two storage cisterns, bordering an ancient road.

The excavators of the canal through the isthmus of *Kassandra* have destroyed part of a medieval wall and ditch which cross the isthmus. Remains were found of a contemporary bridge-head and of an earlier wall, perhaps Hellenistic. A few inscribed stones and pieces of sculpture which were built into the medieval wall have been transferred to Salonika museum.

Kotzias has excavated a prehistoric settlement on a mound at *Mesemerion* in Chalkidike. Of three distinct occupations, the second was the most productive. A series of postholes was uncovered forming two sides of a rectangular hut with a central stone hearth. A number of stone and bone implements was found and a quantity of pottery fragments: mostly plain, some black, a few incised, but none painted. Kotzias has also recorded further prehistoric sites near *Langada*, on the south side of the lake.

At *Philippi*, the French School has continued its excavations. In the west wall of the town, and corresponding to the Neapolis gate, the remains of a second fortified gate have been discovered. These were the only important entrances, and through them passed the Via Egnatia. The fortifications of the Acropolis have also been studied. Soundings at various points along the Byzantine walls reveal that they were built on the line of the Macedonian defences. The Byzantine work, which a fragmentary inscription seems to date to the tenth century, was the first systematic restoration of the fortifications of Philip II.

Further excavations on the terrace overlooking the Forum have established the plan of the church discovered in 1935. It is a basilica with projecting transepts, narthex, and atrium, and was reached from the Forum by an impressive flight of steps. The church dates from the late fourth or early fifth century; it was destroyed by fire, perhaps within a hundred years of its erection, and was replaced by the basilica of Direkler, south of the Forum. On the same terrace foundations of the Macedonian period have been found, and fragments of inscriptions of the fourth and third century B.C. have been recovered from the walls of the church.

The baths in the south of the town, which were reported last year, have now been completely cleared; they are dated provisionally in the fourth century A.D. The hypocausts of an earlier and more important bath complex have been found adjoining the modern road. These older *thermai* lay to the north of the Forum on its north-south axis; their discovery gives valuable indications of the planning of the central part of the town.

Unfortunately the building itself was almost completely destroyed in the construction of the modern road.

Broneer of the American School and Roger of the French School have examined the lion of *Amphipolis* with a view to its re-erection. The base has been completely cleared and the dumps from earlier excavations removed. A number of small fragments have been discovered which with the existent material⁸ will permit an accurate reconstruction of the whole monument.⁹

At *Kalamitsa*, on the Gulf of Kavalla, Balakakes has investigated the site where Welch suggested placing the ancient Antisara (*BSA* xxiii, 66). The rectangular *pyrgos*, on the point where the Acropolis wall ran into the sea, was excavated and shewn to be subdivided into four irregular compartments. From the lowest levels pottery with geometric decoration was recovered, and the fill also contained fragments of black- and red-figure pottery and of Megarian bowls. The site has produced thirty-two stamped handles from Thasian wine-jars, which is of interest as supporting Welch's view, and it is hoped that further excavation will finally settle the problem of its ancient name.

AEGEAN ISLANDS

In the autumn of 1935 Della Seta resumed his excavations in *Lemnos*; at the time of writing no detailed report of this campaign is available. In *Thasos* there has been no further excavation this year. In *Skyros*, Papademetriou, in investigating an extensive necropolis, has opened two rich Protogeometric graves.

In *Delos* the house on the south slope of Kynthos mentioned in last year's report has been further excavated. It rises in three terraces, the lowest containing single rooms and the entrance hall which leads up to the peristyle on the middle terrace, while on the highest level there is a large room with mosaics. Fragments of a marble frieze have been found, which perhaps formed part of the exterior decoration of the building. At each corner of the main façade stood a pair of winged phalloi in relief.

Further graves have come to light near the school in *Naxos*, and have been excavated by Kondoleon. With the exception of one, which was Geometric, all those cleared this year were fifth-century graves cut in the soft limestone; one of them retained its poros lid.

In *Siphnos*, Young and Brock of the British School have continued their excavations on the Kastro and the neighbouring slopes. A start was made on the task of clearing the medieval debris from the unoccupied part of the Kastro; but it was soon found that it would be necessary, before proceeding further, to acquire and excavate the eastern slope, which descends steeply from the foot of the acropolis to the edge of the cliffs. This was done accordingly and several ancient houses, principally of the Geometric period, were discovered. They yielded a quantity of sherds, principally Cycladic, and a fine seal with a centaur (Fig. 8). The uppermost trench cut the edge of an archaic stratum containing some fragmentary terracottas. The

⁸ Cf. *BCH* 1931, 184-190.

⁹ See *AJA* xl, 152, fig. 13.

slope above this trench will be excavated when the acropolis itself has been cleared.

Trial excavations on the south side of the Kastro hill above the harbour disclosed some Hellenistic houses. The finds from this point include a Hellenistic head of tolerable workmanship, slightly under life-size, and a quantity of pottery. On the hill south of the Kastro further attempts to locate an archaic cemetery proved fruitless. In the neighbourhood of last year's excavations two long terraced fields were dug, but only a few scattered sherds were found. The whole of this part of the site seems to have been disturbed in later times. Trial excavations were also made on a site about three quarters of a mile away, where some early sherds had been found lying on the surface.

CRETE

In the vineyard north-west of the Palace of *Knossos* was made a chance find of a fifth-century inscription in finely cut letters and two interesting fragments of archaic architectural sculpture. The smaller, and earlier, is the belted waist and buttocks of a running figure, not unlike those on the Rethymno mitra (*AM* 1906, pl. XXIII); the fragment dates probably from the late seventh century. The other is the lower part of a head, slightly under life-size, with layered hair, perhaps of the early sixth century. Both fragments are cut in a soft rather badly pitted limestone and are from reliefs. Trial pits in the vineyard revealed a Roman stratum with a cist-grave containing three superposed skeletons, Roman coins and pottery overlying an LM level, but no trace of an archaic stratum.

On the opposite side of the road, above the Palace, a wall, dated by the associated pottery to the Late Geometric period, came to light. Among the fill was the terracotta head (Fig. 9). It is intended to excavate this site next year.

Another important chance find was of a bronze bowl from the ditch of the road from the Tekke to H. Ioannes; it is in two parts, the upper part curving over like a kothon, and has applied three fine gorgoneia of the late sixth century. The associated pottery included good fragments of Attic black-figure: kotyle, lekythos and hydria. No trace of structure, burning, or burial was found, and the bowl lay directly on a Minoan stratum.

It was not possible to arrange for the further excavation of the Roman villa this year; its mosaics have been roofed in and the weak points consolidated with cement. In the area east of the 'Basilica,' which last year yielded the Vespasian inscription, further investigation has yielded surface finds and other indications that this was an important residential quarter of the Roman town in the first and second centuries A.D.

At *Amnisos* Marinatos has established that part of the Minoan building was still in use when the Greek temple was built. The burnt layer which covers the sanctuary suggests that it was not roofed until Roman times. Finds from the bottom of this layer include a few L.M. sherds, some Geometric, and an idol with raised arms, of Minoan type but evidently Protogeometric. From the upper levels came four Roman inscriptions giving the names of several Cretan *Kόσμοι* of the late second or first century

B.C. One of them, Lasthenes, son of Sosamenes, is perhaps the general who fought against Metellus.

At *Gazi* near Tylissos two terracotta statuettes, 0.53 and 0.80 metre high, were found by peasants. The smaller, which preserves traces of



FIG. 8.—SIPHNOS: SEAL (2:1).



FIG. 9.—KNOSSOS: TERRACOTTA HEAD.



FIG. 10.—GAZI: TERRACOTTA STATUETTE.

red paint, has horns and a pair of doves on her head; the larger (Fig. 10) belongs to a slightly later period than the other, that of the transition from Minoan to Hellenic art.

Other finds in Central Crete reported by Marinatos are Geometric graves near *Arkhanes*, and at the mouth of the *Kairatos*; a grave excavated

by Platon near *H. Paraskeviés* covered the period from Protogeometric to Orientalising.

At *Phaistos*, under Pernier's direction, the work of consolidation has been continued and almost completed. Attention was paid primarily to the Portico and apartments on the east side, the north façade of the central court and the northern quarter of the Palace. The method adopted has been to strengthen with cement those parts which actually survive, and in this way to clarify the plan of the building and emphasise its main lines.

Perhaps the most important discovery of the year was a chance find of three sheet-bronze statuettes near *Dreros* in North-east Crete (Fig. 11). In all three the technique is the same: they are composed of pieces of sheet bronze, in places only 4 mm. thick, which were fastened by bronze nails to a wooden core. The largest, about 0.80 metre high, is male and naked; the restoration of the arms is not yet certain, probably the right held a weapon above the head, the left covered the body with a shield. The other two, 0.40-0.45 metre high, are female; they wear a low polos and a peplos with patterned border; the arms fall straight to the sides. In spite of the sharp contrast between the male and the female figures, the three pieces are evidently contemporary, and to be dated probably to the early seventh century. The group illustrates for the first time the σφυρήλατον technique which is described by Pausanias¹⁰ in connexion with a statue at Sparta, and by other authors. The three statues have been brought to the National Museum for cleaning and study.

Marinatos has excavated the site (Fig. 12) and found a small rectangular temple measuring internally 9.30 × 5.70 metres. He would restore it as a prostyle building, with flat roof and opening for smoke to escape, corresponding otherwise to the models from Perachora and the Argive Heraeum. At the centre was a rectangular hearth with a column base, originally one of two, and at the south-west corner a rough stone foundation on which were Geometric sherds and terracottas, and the bronze gorgoneion (Fig. 13) of the early sixth century. Outside, where the bronze statuettes were found, was also a table for offerings. It is certainly the oldest archaic temple in Crete, belonging to the first half of the eighth century; its relations to Minoan predecessors and contemporary buildings in Greece have yet to be worked out. Marinatos identifies the temple as the Delphinion (Halbherr, *Museo Ital.* iii, 657 ff.).

At *Trapéza*, by the village of Tzermiada in East Crete, a much-disturbed cave deposit has been excavated by Pendlebury. At only one point was the original stratification preserved. Here was a Neolithic occupation, characterised by a distinctive local type of Neolithic pottery, now found for the first time. It has a dark, mottled appearance in colour, and flecked with black. Many of the fragments belong to round-bottomed vases of the 'two-storied' type, and recall those from Miamu; some have tubular handles, others a nose-like projection with eyes incised on either side and in some cases a mouth below. The ware, which includes some incised pieces, seems to have continued into EM I, in which period the cave was evidently vacated and used for sepulchral purposes only.

¹⁰ Pausanias, III, 17, 6.



FIG. 11.—DREROS; BRONZE STATUES.



FIG. 12.—DREROS; REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE.

EM II was well represented by pottery, including Vasiliki ware, by stone vases, and by a wealth of small finds. These include an ivory seal in the form of a seated monkey, perhaps the finest of its kind yet found in Crete (Fig. 14), and an ivory head with inset eyes, of delicate workmanship and oriental style (Fig. 15b). To the same period is tentatively assigned a group of small bone figurines of a type hitherto unknown in Crete. They stand erect, about 5 centimetres high, naked except for a projecting apron, with arms folded on the stomach. The heads are squarely blocked out and, but for a mouth, featureless (Fig. 15a).

In this remote district the EM II culture probably continued longer than elsewhere, and the Vasiliki pottery may have overlapped the *light on dark* EM III ware of which a number of fragments were found. In the Middle Minoan period the cave fell into disuse, and was ultimately abandoned. MM II and III are represented by only a handful of sherds. The most interesting of the later finds is an early twelfth-dynasty scarab of glazed steatite; it is excellently preserved and has a characteristic curvilinear pattern.

DODECANESE

Laurenzi's excavations of 1934 in the necropolis of Ialysos have now been published in *Clara Rhodos VIII*.

Karo reports further discoveries on other sites in Rhodes: at *Kameiros* a Hellenistic temple and Late Hellenistic houses on the slopes of the acropolis; in the city of *Rhodes*, a find of sling-stones from the harbour, their weights, marked in good lettering, ranging from five Attic minas to twenty talents, perhaps from the siege under Demetrius Poliorketes.

In *Kos* the centre of the Hellenistic and Roman town has been reserved as an archaeological area, and excavations have been conducted on a large scale. In the Turkish quarter of the town, below a series of Roman houses, a Geometric cemetery has been found. The burials, which are in pithoi and stone-lined graves, are all cremations; the pottery, some of which may be local, should prove of importance for the study of Rhodian Geometric. By the harbour three temples have been excavated; they are identified by inscriptions as of Aphrodite Pandemos, Pontia and Herakles. In the same area was uncovered a group of Hellenistic houses at the intersection of two streets, and part of the original city wall dating from the foundation in 366. The North-east corner of the Agora was cleared: on the east side is a Hellenistic hall, and below it one of the fourth century, evidently part of the original agora; on the east side a massive Corinthian propylaeum, of early imperial date, overlies a further stretch of the city wall. The Roman *Thermae* were cleared, and found to have been rebuilt in the Early Christian period, one of the largest rooms being used as a church. At other points in the island of *Kos* early Christian churches have been investigated.

TURKEY

In Santa Sophia at *Constantinople*, Whittemore has continued the task of uncovering the mosaics. In a second preliminary report he has published the lunette with the Virgin and the Emperors Constantine and Justinian

over the entrance to the south-east vestibule. The work in the south gallery, where he hopes to reveal a series of Imperial portraits, will be the subject of a third report. In the main part of the building he has begun the task of cleaning the figure of the Virgin in the apse.

Continuing his excavations within the area of the Imperial Palace, Baxter has uncovered another large section of mosaic pavement adjacent



FIG. 13.—DREROS:
BRONZE GORGONEION.



FIG. 14.—TRAPEZA: IVORY SEAL IN
FORM OF A MONKEY.



FIG. 15.—TRAPEZA: LEFT, BONE FIGURINES; RIGHT, IVORY HEAD.

to that in the Triklinion discovered last year. The subjects in the new mosaic include a pastoral scene with 'Angora' goats, a dragon, a youth throwing a javelin and an eagle with snake.

At *Troy*, Blegen continues to direct extensive excavations on behalf of the University of Cincinnati. The fourth (1935) campaign is reported in *AJA* 39, 550 ff. Here Blegen, in the light of that campaign, recapitulates his interpretation of the stratification of the site. VI, a long-lived city, was

evidently destroyed by earthquake soon after 1300 B.C. Built out of its ruins, VII a followed almost immediately, but was destroyed by fire early in the twelfth century, and replaced at once by VII b. VII a is characterised by a smooth yellow monochrome ware evolved from an antecedent category in VI, presumably a local variety of yellow Minyan. LH III influence on the pottery of both cities is strongly marked. The pottery of VII b includes Trojan monochrome ware, Mycenaean similar to that of the 'granary' class, and *Buckelkeramik*, virtually identical with that found in Macedonia. Dörpfeld is unable to accept the above chronology, and holds that VI was the city of Priam; VII a (which he would prefer to call VI b) that of Aeneas and his descendants (*Iliad* xx. 307), and VII b that of the Trerians and Kimmerians, who came from Europe in the first millennium B.C.

During the present (fifth) season (1936) the excavation of the large rectangular house of Troy I on the northern slope has been completed. In the centre of the citadel the 'island' in square E 6 (Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, ii, pl. III) has been excavated down to the earliest phases of Troy II, below the complex of rooms uncovered last year which were probably the storerooms of the Troy II c palace, (*AJA* 39, 554 ff., pl. xlix). On the south-western slope a large area has been opened up outside the gate called by Dörpfeld VI u, where remains of many different periods have come to light. To the south, in squares F 8-9, layers of Troy V, VI, and VII have been dug not far from the South Gate. Elsewhere, notably at Houses VIE, VIF, and VIG on the eastern side of the citadel, soundings have been made with particular attention to the problem of differentiating the successive strata.

The Turkish excavations at *Alaça Hüyük* have yielded some rich prehistoric grave groups. The finds include fine bronzes, gold and silver objects and pottery. It is hoped that further excavation will afford stratigraphical evidence, but in the meantime, on stylistic grounds, a third millennium date seems probable. At *Baba Köy*, north-west of Bigadiç in Balıkesir vilayet, Bittel of the German Institute at Constantinople and Stewart of the British School have examined a prehistoric cemetery. Though it had previously been looted, they obtained a number of associated groups which should prove of chronological importance, and recorded some new information as to the plan and orientation of cemeteries of the Yortan class.

At *Kusura*, in the vilayet of Afyon Karahisar, Miss Lamb is excavating a prehistoric town settlement. It appears to cover the period from about 3000 to 1100 B.C., and as yet no trace of Phrygian, Greek or Roman occupation has been found. Numerous soundings have been made, and one area has been cleared for house foundations.

Three periods have been distinguished. The earliest produced objects typical of the West Anatolian culture, having affinities with Ormerod's finds, Yortan, Thermi, and even Troy I: the finds are of pottery, stone, terracotta and copper or bronze. The next period, developing from the first, is marked by the appearance of a particularly fine red polished ware sometimes decorated with large horizontal ribs. The last period is hard



FIG. 16.—KUSURA: TERRACOTTA ALTAR.



FIG. 17.—KHIROKITIA: GENERAL VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS.

to place: there are parallels to certain forms from Troy VI and Alishar, but so far this stage is considered to be a distinct local development; the pottery, red or buff, is undecorated. Characteristic of this period are constructions of terracotta adorned with stamped patterns (Fig. 16). The objects are sometimes terminated with horn-like excrescences and may be altars. Two, in the form of pillars, are associated with a large terracotta plaque on which samples of grain were laid. It is too early to venture a final opinion as to the function of these constructions or to explain the significance of the finds with which they were associated. Further excavations are in progress at the time of writing.

CYPRUS

At *Khirokitia*, thirty miles on the road from Nicosia to Limassol, Dikaios has followed up the trial excavation reported in *JHS* 54, 199 with a systematic excavation of the site.

In conjunction with stone foundations of circular huts was uncovered an impressive circular enclosure whose sacred character appears to be unquestionable (Fig. 17). The enclosing wall is 1.30 metres thick, and is preserved in some places to a height of over 2 metres, the total diameter being about 9.40 metres. Inside the enclosure stand two massive piers with a rectangular sinking in the top of each lined with slabs of white local stone. On the floor of the enclosure were found five skeletons, one of a child; they were in a contracted position, and one which adjoined the space between the two piers was covered by a rectangular stone platform. The only entrance seems to have been high up in the enclosing wall at the south-west.

The enclosure is surrounded by a wide horseshoe-shaped corridor closed on the east, north and west by a wall from 2 to 3.60 metres thick, on the south by a wall of lighter construction. In the corridor was found a series of circular stone platforms covered with white slabs and framed by a rough kerb; one had an oval stone at the centre. That these were sacrificial tables seems beyond question, for the fill of the corridor contained a quantity of animal bones and several heavily carbonised layers. The enclosure was supposedly a royal or priestly burial area, and was certainly of great ritual importance for the settlement.

Pottery was found only in the top layer; it was red with wavy incised decoration. From the lower levels stone vessels were recovered in great quantity. The shapes are oblong or round, rarely hemispherical, with flat or round bases. Among the other finds were flints and bone tools. The absence of pottery places the *Khirokitia* settlement before the phase of neolithic culture represented at *Erimi*,¹¹ which is characterised by the universal use of pottery, white painted and red.

At *Curium* Hill has continued his excavations at several points. The imposing residence with mosaic pavements and inscriptions, which are dated to the fourth century A.D., has now been completely cleared; an Early Christian basilican church has been excavated, and beyond the hippodrome to the west the precinct of Apollo has been partly cleared.

H. MEGAW.

¹¹ *JHS* 53, 294 ff., 54, 198 f., 55, 170 f.

GREEK INFLUENCE IN THE ADRIATIC SEA BEFORE THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

THE purpose of this paper¹ is to discuss the evidence for early Greek enterprise in the Adriatic, and to ascertain, within such limits as the scanty material imposes, its nature and extent. The Greek cities of Illyria and the eastern coast of Italy were always unimportant, though not, perhaps, quite so unimportant as has often been supposed. But it may be worth while to try to discover why no literary tradition has survived and why these cities remained without influence on, though not uninfluenced by, the main current of Greek history.

I. THE SOURCES AND THE CREDIBILITY OF GREEK ENTERPRISE IN THE ADRIATIC.

Alcman is the only seventh-century author whose fragments betray an interest, albeit an incidental interest, in the Adriatic.² He wrote for a Spartan audience, and would write what they could understand, and his poetry was sung at festivals in which many must have joined. Spartans of the late seventh century had heard something of the tribe in the northern corner of the Adriatic and of the Illyrians on the eastern shore or farther inland.³ In the sixth century Greek knowledge of Adriatic geography, human and physical, began to take shape. Not only the allusions in the poems of Mimnermus of Colophon and Ibycus of Rhegium,⁴ which shew that Greek legends were thus early being attached to the coasts of the Adriatic, but the systematic works of Scylax of Caryanda⁵ and Hecataeus of Miletus⁶ are as old as the sixth century. The poets may have felt only the mildest interest in the sea, using it as a background for story-telling; but everything that we know of Scylax and Hecataeus suggests that they were practical men, and, accordingly, that there was some real interest in the Adriatic and a demand for information which they sought to satisfy.

¹ Part of this essay was awarded the Cromer Prize by the British Academy in 1935: the Appendices and the sections bearing on archaeology (i.e. most of Section III on Trade) have been added later, and to make the matters less apparent much of the original essay has been rewritten. Among many obligations, I must mention particularly that under which I am to Mr. R. H. Dundas for his patient and inspiring encouragement, and to Mr. A. A. Blakeway for much help and many suggestions, which I acknowledge in the course of the essay.

² When the traditional dates of Alcman (Suidas, Ol. 27; Eusebius, Ol. 30.4 and Ol. 42) have been scaled down, as they probably should be (see Crusius in *RE*) he remains a late seventh-century poet.

³ Alcman, fr. 23, l. 834 (Bergk). The case for the Adriatic and against the Paphlagonian Eneti is argued in Section III. Steph. Byz. sub Ἀράξαι ἢ Ἀράξοι. They are not mentioned elsewhere.

⁴ See Appendix I for the Diomedes Cult, and references.

⁵ Scylax is quoted in Schol. Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 1215. Νεστταῖοι τε καὶ Νεστταῖον Σκόλαξ ἔπειν ἔθνος Ἰλλυρικόν ἐπὶ τοῦτον παράλιον. . . There is no reason to reject this fragment; no similar passage occurs in the fourth-century Periplus, and the Scholiast was acquainted with the work of the Caryandean (Schol. Ap. Rhod. I, 1177).

⁶ Hecataeus, frs. 54-71 in *FHG* I; Jacoby I, frs. 90-108.

It follows that the Greeks were active in the Adriatic in the sixth century, but more than this the contemporary literary evidence does not allow us to assert. It tells us nothing of the nature of this activity, nothing that can be called history. It is true that the evidence gains in importance because it has so often been asserted⁷ that there was very little, or no, Greek activity in the Adriatic before the fourth century. This view, though it disregards the contemporary literary evidence, has been fairly widely held, and supported by variety of arguments, which, when examined, do not disclose a very high degree of cogency. It has been stated that natural deterrents to settlement in the Adriatic outweighed the advantages, and that the Greeks deliberately avoided the sea for good reasons. However, no one has disputed the existence of Greek settlements in the Adriatic in the fourth century, when the natural deterrents must have been just as great as in the sixth and fifth centuries. As a matter of fact, these natural deterrents have been much exaggerated. One form that the argument has taken is to be found in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 633, where it is maintained that 'the copious rainfall . . . of the Adriatic from Epirus northward' was a serious physical obstacle to the founding of colonies. The facts⁸ justify no such generalisation about rainfall on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. It is true that there are two very wet belts: Montenegro⁹ and Albania north of the Drin, and the east and the north-east coast of the Gulf of Fiume. A rainfall of more than 150 cm. per year is heavier than any in Greece or in Greek colonial areas; indeed, it takes rank as the heaviest rainfall in Europe. Yet on the islands and on the coast north of Ragusa and south of Fiume the rainfall averages between 75 and 100 or 100 and 150 cm. per year, and even the latter figure is no higher than that for Corcyra and Epirus. Sicily and Italy south of the Lacinian Promontory have approximately the same average rainfall as the Dalmatian coast from Fiume to Spalato. So it cannot well have been rain that deterred Greeks from settling there.

Winds are sometimes mentioned¹⁰ as a reasonable explanation of the supposed failure of the Greeks to colonise the Adriatic. In particular, the sudden gusts of the Bora make the harbourless eastern coast of Italy dangerous. This is perfectly true, and there is no reason to believe that there was any Greek settlement on the coast north of Monte Gargano and south of Numana. But the influence of the Bora must not be exaggerated. In the first place, it is a winter wind, and its summer form, the Borino, is altogether milder.¹¹ The Greeks in any case preferred to make their voyages during the summer, and would thus escape the most savage type of

⁷ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II, 168; Holm, *Gesch. Siziliens*, II, 134.

⁸ See the charts in Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet*.

⁹ It is impossible to be consistent about Illyrian place-names. Where there are familiar Venetian names, I have as a rule used them, as it is pedantic to refer to Cenagora and the Boka Kotorska. However, in the case of little-known places, I have tended to use the Croatian name (e.g. Brač, rather than

Bracca; Hvar rather than Lesina), as this form will be found on the best modern maps (e.g. the Yugoslav edition of the Austrian Staff). I have tried to deal with Albanian names on the same principle.

¹⁰ This deterrent was called to my notice by Dr. Cary, who also helped me with a number of other suggestions which I acknowledge in their place.

¹¹ W. B. Turrill, *The Flora of the Balkan Peninsula*, 42 ff.

Bora. Again, they would tend to sail up the Illyrian coast, with its numerous islands and creeks, where, in the shelter of cliffs of a certain orientation, the effects of the Bora are not felt; nor do they pass far out to sea, when the Greek ships struck across from Hvar or Trogir to Ancona, Adria, or Spina. History amply refutes the view that the Bora is a serious menace to a navy of oars and sails. Not only have we the specific statement of Herodotus that the Phocaeans explored the Adriatic, but also the absolutely undoubted fact that the Venetians, who depended on oared galleys and sailing-ships no less than did the Greeks, were able to control the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts for many hundred years.

Another theory has often been advanced to shew why, as is supposed, the Greeks made little headway in the Adriatic.¹² There is some reason to believe that pirates gave trouble to Greek traders in the Adriatic in the first half of the fourth century,¹³ but none to believe that the ferocity of the Illyrians prevented early Greek trade and colonisation. One of the most cogent reasons for believing that there was a very considerable volume of trade up and down the Adriatic, from the Po Valley to Greece, South Italy and Sicily, is the existence of piracy in the early fourth century. Piracy thrives on trade and dies out when there is none. It would be a different matter if there was any reason to believe that the early Illyrians were organised into a league to resist the Greeks. But Polybius clearly states that Agron and Teuta were the first native princes to build up a considerable power.¹⁴ Before their day there must have been spasmodic outbreaks of piracy, in which, no doubt, the Greeks gave as good as they got. Triremes were a match for lembi even in the narrow channels that separate Hvar from Brač, Korčula, and the mainland.¹⁵

It has sometimes been maintained that Etruscan hostility prevented Greek expansion in the Adriatic. This was not the case, as the Etruscans were never in a position to control the sea. There is some evidence of national rivalry in the tradition of an attempted Thessalian settlement at Ravenna¹⁶ which came to nothing owing to Etruscan opposition. But against this must be set the evidence for Greco-Etruscan friendship on the Adriatic, which will be mentioned in Section II of this paper, and the fact that before 550 the Etruscans were not a power in the Po valley. It is, indeed, more than doubtful if the Etruscans were ever in full control of a good port on the eastern seaboard of Italy. North of Adria were the Veneti. Adria was Greek,¹⁷ with Etruscan elements; similarly with the city in Valle Trebbia.¹⁸ Ravenna was Umbrian; so too was Ariminum.¹⁹ It is very unlikely that the Umbrians would let the

¹² E.g. Casson, *Macedonia, Thracia, and Illyria*, 320.

¹³ The complete absence of penetration northward into the Dalmatian archipelago seems explicable on the assumption that piracy was in uncontested control of these regions.

¹⁴ Diodorus, XVI, 5. (cf. Dittenberger (ed. 3), 305.

¹⁵ Polyb. 2, 2.

¹⁶ Diodorus, XV, 14 ff.

¹⁷ Strabo, 214; cf. Zosimus, V, 27. Dittenberger, (ed. 3) no. 305, might be taken to indicate Etruscan

piracy in the Adriatic; but (1) before 325 the Etruscan power north of the Apennines had been broken by the Gauls, and (2) Dionysius of Halicarnassus says (I, 29, 2) that the Greeks used to call *Λατίνος* καὶ *Ουρβικὸς* καὶ *Ἀδριατικὸς* καὶ *συγχυτοὶ* ἄλλοι by the name *Τυρρηνοί*.

¹⁷ See Section II below (p. 180).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ Strabo, 217 (Ariminum); 217, 19, 27 (Ravenna: see, further, note 144 of Section II).

Etruscans, their great enemies,²⁰ use their harbours against the Greeks. Ancona and Numana were Picene,²¹ the latter with strong Greek elements. Cupramarittima is called Etruscan by Strabo, but the finds shew that he is mistaken.²² The Picenes themselves seem to have been friendly with the Greeks, or not interested in the sea; their best harbour remained quite unimportant in the early period, and it was only when it had been taken over by Syracusan fugitives that this was changed. In the literary tradition there is only one indication, and that a weak one, that Ancona was occupied before the fourth century.

This digression on supposed deterrents to colonisation and trade with the Adriatic area has led, inevitably, to many anticipations. But it is now clear, at least, that we have a right to expect to find traces of Greek activity north of Epidamnus in early sources. Unfortunately, as has been said, the seventh- and sixth-century references do not tell us about trade and colonisation in the Adriatic, but only suggest that there is something to be known about them. It is only in fifth-century sources that anything that could even remotely be called Adriatic History is preserved. Herodotus gives about three invaluable facts; Thucydides has a good deal to say about Corcyra and Epidamnus, and most of what he says has an indirect bearing on the Adriatic; Pausanias has preserved a contemporary epigram. In later writers, notably the author of the *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, Ephorus, Pliny, Plutarch, Pausanias, the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, Strabo, many interesting facts are to be found, and the geographical works of Pseudo-Scylax and, to a lesser extent, Pseudo-Scymnus, have a peculiar value. But nowhere do we find any trace of a consecutive history underlying the scattered facts; nowhere do we meet the name of an author, late or early, who wrote an account of the activities of Greeks in the Adriatic. Every fact that is preserved, is preserved incidentally as bearing on another theme, part of the history of another city. No Greek author did for the history of Spina, Adria, Lissus, and the city on the Black Corcyra what Antiochus of Syracuse did for the cities of Magna Grecia and Sicily.

This is surely not coincidence pure and simple. The Adriatic was a part of the Greek world which was not in contact with a great barbarian power, with Persia or with Phoenicia; it had no epic struggle, no Salamis or Himera. There may have been stirring rivalries, but they were trade rivalries, in no sense national; and Thucydides who passed over the economic aspects of the Peloponnesian War set a fashion, or perhaps manifested an innate Greek tendency. It is possibly worth while to note that the history of Massalia and the Greek cities in Spain is nearly a similar blank, though now and then the interest of the struggle with the Phoenicians has led to the preservation of an isolated fact.

The archaeological evidence is naturally useful for confirming and amplifying the written tradition. But it can unfortunately only be used with very great caution. Though there has been systematic excavation in Italy, notably at Comacchio and in Picenum, there has been very little

²⁰ Pliny, *N.H.* III, 113.

²¹ The evidence for the following passage will be found below, Section II, notes 140 ff.

²² Strabo 241. That it was a Picene city is proved by finds from the site, now in Ancona (cf. Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age in Italy*, ch. IV).

in Dalmatia and none in northern Albania. Owing to the fact that the islands of Korčula, Hvar and Vis, where there were undoubtedly Greek settlements,²³ are now economically dependent on the vines that cover such part of their surface as is not wood or bare limestone, there seems to be very little prospect that any systematic digging will be done, and the sporadic finds can never lead to any definite conclusion about the upper limit for the date of the foundation of a colony. Under these circumstances tentative suggestion must take the place of positive affirmation about the political, social, and economic history of the Greek cities on the shores and islands of the Adriatic sea.

II. THE GREEK SETTLEMENTS.

The suggestion that Phoenicians established factories on the coast of Montenegro was made over fifty years ago, and has recently been revived.²⁴ But it is unsupported by evidence strong enough to outweigh the very serious objections to which it is open. The evidence for the theory, and the reasons for which it must be rejected, are as follows.

A Greek legend,²⁵ which, as it was known to Herodotus and Sophocles, is at least as old as the fifth century, made Cadmus the Phoenician leave Greece and settle among the Illyrians. He went overland, and became king of the Illyrian 'Εγγελεῖς or 'Εγγελεῖοι or 'Εγγελέσι or 'Εγγελάνες, and in the fourth century was honoured with a temple on the Bocche di Cattaro. In the same tradition he gives a name to Bouthoe, the modern Budua, and a very late authority makes him founder of Lychnidus. He was also connected with Lissus and Apollonia.

The significance of these legends will be discussed below. For the present it is enough to note that there is no convincing evidence for historic Phoenicians, as opposed to mythical Cadmeans, on the coasts of Montenegro and Albania. It may be true that one account of Naronia made it a Phoenician foundation.²⁶ It is certainly true that the ancient name of Mljet, Melite or Meleda, is suggestive of that of an island that lay in a Carthaginian sphere of influence. But the name has a perfectly good Greek root,²⁷ and even if it had not, the value of the name as evidence for Phoenician colonisation would be quite negligible. There are rumours that Phoenician inscriptions have been found on Lagosta and Mljet,²⁸ but until these have been traced and examined, an attitude of doubt is demanded.

Other considerations, such as the existence of a serpent cult in Roman times, and the possible occurrence of physical types among the Croats that might be called Syrian,²⁹ are very weak in themselves. If the presence of Phoenicians were certainly established on other evidence, they might

²³ See below, notes 200, 207 of Section III.

²⁴ The suggestion is made in Evans' *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, 388; cf. Radu Vulpe, *Securitate de Bronz de tip Albano-Dalmat si domnia lui Cadmus la Eacalei*.

²⁵ The references relevant to the Cadmus legend

are cited below, in Appendix I.

²⁶ Evans, *l.c.*

²⁷ Krahe, *Balkanillyrische Geographische Namen*, 3.

²⁸ Evans, *l.c.*

²⁹ *Id.*

have some interest and relevance, but they are themselves obviously far too weak for serious consideration.

The archaeological evidence, the supposed relevance of which was recently pointed out, is also unconvincing.

A Roumanian scholar³⁰ pointed out that a peculiar type of axe-head with a tongue of metal protruding towards the blade on the side nearest the shaft was only to be found on the Illyrian coast only between and including the neighbourhood of Spalato and the Lake of Scutari. He emphasised that these axes can have had no practical value such as would justify their export commercially, and contended that their value must have been ritual. Citing as a parallel an axe from Beisan in Syria, he argued for a Syrian settlement on the coast of Illyria. But there are no less than three considerations that tell fatally against this view. First, the parallel is by no means exact. The Beisan axe is of a distinct type from the Dalmatian, as it seems to be meant to resemble a human hand, with the shaft on the protruding thumb, and the four fingers pointing away from the blade of the axe; while the Dalmatian type cannot have been hafted on the protruding tongue of metal, which runs towards and not away from the blade. A single glance is enough to convince anyone that the two types are distinct.³¹ Secondly, the Beisan type is by no means confined to Syria, specimens having come to light in Hungary, the Caucasus, and Siberia. In fact, there does not appear to be a parallel for the Beisan axe in Syria. Couissin³² suggests that it is of northern origin. Thirdly, the date of the Beisan axe cannot be later than the end of the fourteenth century B.C., and few would be so bold as to maintain that colonists were leaving the coast of Syria for Illyria at so early a date.

The Protogeometric sherds which have been found at Coppa Nevigata near Manfredonia,³³ and not the Dalmatian axes, the date of which is quite uncertain, furnish the earliest evidence of contact between the Adriatic and the Aegean world. These sherds are far earlier than any others that have as yet come to light, and taken in conjunction with the sherds from Scoglio del Tonno near Taranto and the stories in Herodotus and Antiochus about Cretans in Iapygia³⁴ must be considered to indicate an early connexion of this part of Italy with the Aegean world.

By the eighth century the Greeks had begun to venture westward, foremost among them the Euboeans, who had settled on Corcyra some time before 734.³⁵ They probably sent out a factory northward to the Bay of Valona, where they settled on Oricus. Tradition made it a very early Euboean foundation, connecting it with the dispersal after the taking of Troy.³⁶ The poetic embroidery need not destroy our belief in the essential truth of the story, more especially because there are a number of traces of Euboean activity in northern Epirus. The district on the Vjosë which later centred round Amantia was as early as the fifth century called

³⁰ Vulpe, *op. cit.*

³¹ The Beisan axe is described by Couissin, in *RA* xxvii, 1928, 265.

³² *Id.*

³³ See Blakeway in *BSA* xxxiii, 175 (one perhaps

Mycenaean).

³⁴ Herod. VII, 170.

³⁵ Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* no. II; cf. *BSA* xxxvii, 205, note 4.

³⁶ Pseudo-Scymnus, 442-3.

Abantis,³⁷ which points to a tradition of a Euboean connexion. Another story made Elephenor, the Euboean hero, founder of the city.³⁸ These legends are most easily explained by the supposition of Euboean influence in the neighbourhood.

The Euboeans were traders, not farmers, for they settled on an island³⁹ in the southern corner of the Bay of Valona,⁴⁰ not in the fertile plain between the Vjosë and the Semeni or on the rich uplands of Malakstra. It was known in the fifth and fourth centuries as Oricus,⁴¹ Oricum being a later form, and the name spread until in Hecataeus' day it covered the whole gulf between the Acroceraunian Mountains and the mainland, which indicates that the settlement enjoyed a measure of prosperity and importance. It was well situated for communication southward to Corcyra, since it was possible to avoid the voyage round the headland and down the gulf by crossing the Logarà Pass to the harbour Panormus, the one break in the steeply rising western side of the peninsula. The Euboeans also established posts on the mainland opposite Corcyra,⁴² and thus astride of the Corfu Channel they could control all shipping going north. They seem to have kept on fairly good terms with the natives, for they did not expel them from the island, and when the Corinthians came and did so,⁴³ they could retire northward, not only to their own people in Illyria, but also to the Euboean post on Oricus.⁴⁴ Tradition called these natives Liburnians. This is possibly trustworthy. There is some indication that the name was once used of natives south of the later Liburnia.⁴⁵

The organised expedition from Corinth struck at the foundation of Euboean power by the expulsion of the Eretrians from Corcyra. There is no evidence for any attack on Oricus, and as the Corinthians were far more interested in Sicily than in Illyria, it is unlikely that the island settlement was molested. But the Euboeans were effectively crippled by the loss of Corcyra, and Oricus remained the limit of their northward expansion. If we suppose that Oricus was founded in the eighth century, there is a very considerable hiatus between this early venture in northern Epirus and the late seventh-century colonies at Apollonia and Epidamnus. This is explained by the fact that Corinth was at first bent on securing Archias' acquisition, the best harbour on the eastern coast of Sicily; later, by the second quarter of the seventh century, Corcyra had become a considerable power, and Corinth was preoccupied with the attempt to bring her to heel and perhaps with internal troubles, leading to a change of government. The quarrel with Corcyra had come to a head by 664⁴⁶ and a generation later Corcyra was still not only independent, but the strongest naval

³⁷ Pausanias, V, 22, 2, giving the contemporary epigram.

³⁸ Lycophron, 1043 ff., with Tzetzes *ad loc.* admittedly not a Homeric tradition (*Iliad*, II, 549); cf. Paus. V, 22, 3.

³⁹ Ptolemy, *Geog.* II, 204.

⁴⁰ The case for the identification of the ruins on the Pasha Laman with Oricus is conclusively argued by Patsch, *Sandshak Berat in Albanien*, 70.

⁴¹ Cf. Hecataeus, fr. 43; Pseudo-Scylax, 26; and

Pseudo-Scymnus, 441. The Oricum form appears, e.g., in Pliny, *l.c.*

⁴² Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV, 1175: Τὴν δὲ ἀνακτορὴν τῆς Κερκυρας ἔχοντες ἔσπευσεν Μακεδόνων, ὥστε διὰ τὸ ἐκταίνειν καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοίης.

⁴³ Strabo, 269-70.

⁴⁴ Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV, 1216.

⁴⁵ Steph. Byz. *Λάδερτα ἢ Λάδερτος* (Theopompus); cf. Appian *B.C.* II, 39 (Liburnians at Epidamnus).

⁴⁶ Thuc. I, 13, 4.

power in the north-west.⁴⁷ However, she was on good enough terms with Corinth to succeed in enlisting her sympathy for the idea of founding a colony on the coast of Illyria, in the exploitation of which Corinth was probably by now keenly interested.⁴⁸ In 627 Epidamnus was founded by a mixed expedition, with Corcyreans in a majority, but with some Corinthians and other Dorians. The oecist was a Bacchiad Corinthian, Phalius, son of Eratocleides. So Corinth certainly had a stake in the venture. It may have been the case that to refuse to allow Corinthian co-operation would have meant a war which Corcyra was unwilling to face. Corinth was indeed a very formidable power, organised by an able ruler and commercially supreme in the west. Corcyra, for her part, had reason to be polite, if Illyrian silver was a vital Corinthian interest.

The headland of Dyrrachium is so prominent a landmark on the otherwise featureless coast that there is no reason to suppose that when the colony was founded, Corinthians and Corcyreans knew that from Epidamnus the heart of Illyria could be penetrated. As a matter of fact, the immediate hinterland of both Apollonia and Epidamnus is comparatively easy. The later Egnatian way struck the coast at these cities because they were convenient harbours; no other necessity of geography made them the western termini. It would, indeed, be definitely better to avoid talking of 'Epidamnus and Apollonia on the overland route to the Aegean, the Egnatian way.' The only reason that this extremely arduous route was used for the transport of goods in ancient times was a strictly military one. Its importance dates from Roman times. Before then, it seems *a priori* highly unlikely that goods were sent overland from, say, Potidaea to Apollonia, which do not lie on the way to any two great mutually dependent consuming centres, and which cannot themselves have been big enough consumers to keep so arduous a route open in their own interest. It is only true to say that the Egnatian way was used in the archaic period if all that is meant thereby is that the centre of Illyria, the consuming area the importance of which is proved by the Trebeniste finds, could be reached from either the Aegean or the Adriatic.

It seems likely that the city was called Epidamnus and the headland Dyrrachium.⁴⁹ As the city grew larger and spread up over the cape, it came to be called Dyrrachium, which it sometimes was by the fifth century,⁵⁰ though the alternative Epidamnus was more usual. The truth behind the tradition that there were two cities on the headland⁵¹ is in all probability the fact that the city varied in size from time to time, in prosperity spreading over the whole cape as far as the site of the so-called Porta Romana and towards the northern entrance of the lagoon, and in lean

⁴⁷ Appian, *B.C.* II, 39. Foundation of Epidamnus, *Thur.* I, 24, 2.

⁴⁸ See below, Section III, pp. 181-4.

⁴⁹ Cf. Steph. Byz. *Δυρράχιον* . . . Ἀλβανός-ἡ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ μετὰ τοῦς Δυρράχιον αὐτὴν καλεῖ (cf. *Etymologicum Magnum*, sub. voc.; Krahe, *Balkanillyrische Geographische Namen*, 2) *Δυρράχιον* τ' *Επίδαμνος* ἐπ' ἀγγύλου χθονὶς περὶ. Strabo 316, *Ἐπίδαμνος* . . . ἡ ἐν Δυρράχῳ διωνύμιος τῆς χειρωνακτοῦ λεγομένη, ἐφ' ἧς

ἔσονται ὡς Φίλων. The Strabo quotation reoccurs in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Themes*, 26.

⁵⁰ Some of the coins with the *Δυρ*-legend may be fifth century. The literary evidence indicates that the Epidamnus name was more common (e.g. *Thur.* I, 24; Herod. VI, 127; Paus. V, 22, a late sixth-century epigram).

⁵¹ Paus. VI, 10, 8.

times restricted to the land round the harbour, in much the same way as after the earthquake of 1273 the mediaeval town shrunk into the southern corner of the Byzantine.

Though for many years the most northerly Greek outpost in the Adriatic, Epidamnus was in no sense cut off from the homeland. About two generations after the foundation, it could boast of a citizen, one Amphinestus, rich and famous enough to aspire to the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon,⁵² a city which had been gaining in importance under its tyrants' wise rule, and may conceivably have been interesting itself in western trade, or at least carrying trade, after the building of a navy that helped to win the Sacred War.⁵³ At the wooing, Sybaris and Siris, Aetolia and Molossia, were also represented, and as all the other suitors came from Greece proper, the presence of this contingent from the west might be significant. But lack of further evidence and the doubtful historical value of Herodotus' story make speculation idle. About this time the exiles from Scillus and Dyspontium,⁵⁴ chased from the Alpheus valley by the invaders from Hollow Elis, chose to go to the two Greek cities on the Illyrian coast for their refuge. This reinforcement must have arrived towards the end of the first quarter of the sixth century,⁵⁵ and may have contributed substantially to that growth in size and population which impressed Thucydides.⁵⁶ Ultimately the city's prosperity must have been based on trade, as the neighbouring barbarians, the Taulantii, can never have been reduced to serfdom, and must have been neighbours far from ideal, as they could be induced to serve the interests of factions within the city.⁵⁷ But Epidamnus flourished during the sixth century. By 516 one of the citizens was rich enough to own horses and win the chariot race at Olympia. Cleosthenes was, indeed, not only wealthy, but pretentious, for he made a flamboyant departure to celebrate his success by the dedication of statues of himself, his charioteer and his horses, all four of them, with their names inscribed below.⁵⁸ If, as we are bound to assume, the wealth that enabled Cleosthenes to win his chariot race was based on Adriatic and Illyrian trade, it is not remarkable that the aristocratic government, the form of which presumably dated from the foundation, was challenged. Trade meant a *ναυτικός ὄχλος* and democratic ideas. The struggle was long and embittered, and led to loss of prosperity and territory.⁵⁹

The aristocrats seem to have had two methods of securing their position. By forbidding trade with the natives except through the agency of an official,⁶⁰ they made influence over the natives a monopoly of the privileged class, and this connexion they were able to exploit to their own considerable advantage.⁶¹ They probably also enjoyed the support of Corcyra; at least, the Corcyreans refused to come to the help of the embarrassed

⁵² Herod. VI, 127.

⁵³ Preface to Schol. Pind. *Nem.* IX.

⁵⁴ Strabo, 357.

⁵⁵ *CAH* III, 546 (H. T. Wade-Gery).

⁵⁶ Thuc. I, 24, 5.

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ Paus. VI, 10, 5.

⁵⁹ Thuc. I, 24, 4.

⁶⁰ Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* II. The story is undated, but most likely refers to the sixth or fifth century, when the aristocrats were in control.

⁶¹ Thuc. I, 24, 5.

democrats,⁶² when they were assailed simultaneously by the exiles and the natives. Corcyra was thus missing an admirable opportunity of establishing her influence in the city, which she may have been anxious to do. This is not quite certain, because it is possible that the Corcyreans cynically reckoned that it was as well that Epidamnus should waste her strength and that continued confusion was bound in any case to lead to a Corcyrean protectorate. It would be important to ascertain the exact relations between the two cities from the foundation of Epidamnus to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. Most likely Periander's double conquest of Corcyra destroyed her influence over Epidamnus for the time. Only by the end of the sixth century had Corcyra begun to build up a powerful navy of triremes,⁶³ the implied increase of wealth coinciding with the growth of Adriatic trade. Even so, it is clear from the events of the thirties of the fifth century that Epidamnus was independent. If she coined on the Corcyrean standard, it was for commercial convenience, not as a subject ally. When Corcyra had become an uncomfortably powerful neighbour, the possibility of Corinthian intervention preserved for Epidamnus the substance of independence. For much the same reason the southern neighbours of the Corcyreans, the Cephallenians, supported Corinth⁶⁴; and the loyalty of the colonies in the north-west may not have been entirely disinterested. Corinth asked for sentimental recognition, and Corcyra was near and powerful. Apollonia, the other Greek city of south Illyria, certainly preserved a close connexion with Corinth.⁶⁵

This colony was Corinthian, though, no doubt, with Corcyrean elements.⁶⁶ The settlers arrived, to judge from the archaeological evidence, some time early in the sixth or late in the seventh century.⁶⁷ As the city could be reached overland from the south,⁶⁸ there is no need to suppose that it must have been founded at a time when Periander was in control of Corcyra. There is, indeed, one interesting indication that at this time—the latter part of the seventh century—other cities were beginning to take an interest in the Adriatic, though the development of Rhodian and Phocaean activity falls in the sixth. The East Greek sherd from the site of Apollonia is the earliest trace which has been preserved.⁶⁹ The southern Adriatic was not the monopoly of Corinth and Corcyra.

⁶² Thuc. I, 24, 7.

⁶³ Thuc. I, 14, 2.

⁶⁴ Thuc. I, 27, 2.

⁶⁵ See below, note 83 of this Section.

⁶⁶ Thuc. I, 26, 2 (a Corinthian colony) is better authority than e.g. Strabo 316 (a Corcyrean colony) or Pseudo-Scymnus 438 (mixed); it is likely *a priori* that of the original two hundred all were Corinthians, and that Corcyreans drifted in later.

⁶⁷ No traditional foundation date has been preserved, though 588 is frequently given (e.g. by Rey in *Albania*, IV, 27, implicitly attempting to date middle Corinthian pottery below this). There is no ancient authority for it. The *terminus ante* is the destruction of Scillus and Dyspontium. As the site was occupied by natives before the arrival of Greeks, it is

more than usually difficult to fix a certain upper limit from the archaeological evidence. Cf. note 69.

⁶⁸ Thuc. I, 26, 2. Cf. p. 170.

⁶⁹ Praschniker (*Ojh* 1922, Beiblatt, I, pl. 8) published 'keramische Proben von Apollonia', which seems to have been lost in the Austrian retreat when Pojani monastery took fire (*i.e.* col. 8). From an examination of pl. 8 it is clear that the middle sherd of the top row is not Corinthian, but East Greek; cf. the unbound rosette and three lines (a plant?) sprouting from the ground on which the animal was standing. He also mentions Protocorinthian sherds, but none has come to light since, as far as one can tell from the collections in Fier town-hall and in the Tirana Museum, so I should be inclined to doubt if it is fair to use

The native settlement on the site of Apollonia was occupied by two hundred settlers, under an oecist whom tradition⁷⁰ called Gylax. But even if the city was called after him,⁷¹ the name Apollonia, and with it the cult of Apollo, was firmly established in the fifth century.⁷² It seems probable that the number of settlers was very small, and the venture consequently of second-class importance. Though it is the unfortunate fact that we simply do not know how many men Archias took to Syracuse or Phalanthus to Tarentum, the tradition that a thousand men went to Leucas makes the Apollonia expedition look small.⁷³

Some time after the foundation the Apolloniates received an accession of strength from the Pisatan exiles, but there is no particular reason to connect this with the expansion of the city, which may well have been due to natural growth in population and the desire of the governing class to strengthen the landowning interest against the ναυτικός ὄχλος.⁷⁴

There is less evidence for the prosperity of Apollonia than there is for that of Epidamnus. But the two cities shared a favourable position for trade with the interior and with the northern Adriatic, and there is reason to suppose that Apollonia contrived to extend her territory to the south along the Vijosë and Shushicë valleys. In the generation before the Persian war her territory stretched as far south as the Vijosë,⁷⁵ which in those days meant that she was in control of part of the coast of the Bay of Valona.⁷⁶ The story of Euenius reflects in many ways the interest of Apollonia; landowning seemed to one Apolloniate at least the best thing that life offered, and the honour which the state paid to Helios entailed the care of a flock of sheep, which is not without significance. The neighbourhood of the city was famous grazing country.⁷⁷

The southward expansion continued in the fifth century.

By Herodotus' day the Vijosë was flowing through Apolloniate territory to reach the sea,⁷⁸ that is, through the Abantis district, which may be presumed to be at least as far south as the later Amantia. This is the modern Plloca, lying 34 miles south of Apollonia, in an angle formed by the Valona-Tepeleni route where it divides, to meet again at the crossing of the Shushicë, east of Valona.

The otherwise unknown Thronion,⁷⁹ traditionally a mixed Euboean-Locrian settlement, was reduced. The Apolloniates did their work

this as evidence for dating the foundation before that of Epidamnus. The date is difficult, but most likely c. 600. The East Greek sherd might be a little earlier, but there is certainly no Corinthian of the last quarter of the seventh century. The earliest Corinthian belongs to the first quarter of the sixth.

⁷⁰ Steph. Byz. Ἀπολλωνία πρώτη πόλις Ἰλλυρίας, ἣν ᾤκουν Ἰλλυριοὶ κατ' Ἐπίδαμνον. ὁσπερὸν διακοσίων Κορινθίων ἀποικία εἰς αὐτὴν ἐστάθη, ἥς ἡγήτο Γύλαξ.

⁷¹ Steph. Byz. *l.c.* Cf. Γούλασα.

⁷² Paus. V, 22, 3.

⁷³ The only other instances with which I am familiar where numbers of settlers are given are Athenian Colonies (e.g. 1000 to Thrace, Plut. *Per.* 11). Leucas: Pseudo-Scylax, 24.

⁷⁴ Cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, XIII, 13.

⁷⁵ Herod. IX, 93.

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ Pindar, *Nem.* IV, 33. Cf. Appendix IV.

⁷⁸ Herod. IX, 93; ποταμός δὲ ἐκ Λάκμωνος ὄρους ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης (χώρας) εἰς θάλασσαν παρ' Ἰωρκῶν λιμένα. I hope to discuss the evidence for the view here expressed, and the bearing that it has on the date of the composition of Herodotus' history, elsewhere.

⁷⁹ Paus. V, 22, 2 ff. μινύειτ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀναστήθεα τὰν ἐπὶ πόντον Ἰονίῳ Φαίβοι φάσ' ἀπορροήμας. Οἱ γὰρ τῆρμεθ' ἐκείνῃ Ἀβαντίῳ μετέβη ταῦτα ἑστασαν αὖν δεξιῇ ἐκ Θρόνιου δεξιάν. Ἡ δὲ Ἀβαντίς καλουμένη χώρα καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ Θρόνιον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἡρατ' ἡπείρου κατὰ θρῆ τὸ Κροῖον. The site of Thronion (Klos, Kanina, or Plloca) awaits discussion.

thoroughly, for the only historical mention of Thronion is, or is in connexion with, the epigram which records its downfall.

The spoils taken from the city and the Abantis were undoubtedly of very considerable value, for from the tenth of them a dedication on a most lavish scale was made at Olympia.⁸⁰ The black limestone base on which the statues stood cannot have been of less than 10 metres radius to judge from the curve of the remaining fragments, and the composition included fourteen figures, gods and goddesses, Greeks and barbarians; and the son of Myron would not give his services for nothing.

The Apolloniate expansion southward may have been actuated by something more than desire to increase the territory of the city. Her relations with Corinth were, no doubt, always close, and she needed the support of the mother city to assure her independence of Corcyra. She always paid to Corinth the respect due from a daughter city,⁸¹ and there is some reason to suppose that Corinth helped her in the struggle for the hinterland of the Bay of Valona, for one tradition said that Corinth shared the spoils.⁸² As the power of Corcyra on the sea grew and that of Corinth diminished, it became more and more imperative to have firm control of a land route to the south, to ensure free communication with Corinth even if Corcyra disapproved. The conquest of the Shushicë valley was probably part of a successful attempt to make certain of the route to Ambracia; that the attempt was successful is evident because Corinth was able to march troops overland, either from Ambracia or Oeniadae, in 435.⁸³

The extension of territory was in some ways dangerous for Apollonia. It led to an increase in the number of unprivileged and potentially disloyal members of the community, many of whom were of native extraction, even if we suppose that Thronion was a Greek settlement. The resident aliens who came to the city to trade could be prevented from staying by periodical expulsions,⁸⁴ but, even so, the privileged class was heavily outnumbered by the non-privileged, and, indeed, by the non-free class.⁸⁵ Among themselves, the citizens enjoyed equality of rights, and could claim in some sense to have a democratic form of government.⁸⁶ But it is probable that the descendants of the original citizens excluded later comers from the citizenship; not perhaps all at once, when so small a body would need reinforcement, and the men of Scillus and Dyspontium would hardly have gone to Apollonia, if it meant that they had no chance of citizenship. But as the city grew in size, the policy of the rulers no doubt became more exclusive. Citizenship was becoming more valuable.

After 600 both Apollonia and Epidamnus began to derive their wealth not only from trade with the Illyrians and from agriculture, but also from their position on the trade route north, by which a stream of Corinthian exports reached the tribes on the east coast of Italy and the coasts and islands of Dalmatia. During most of the century this stream was a mere

⁸⁰ *Inschr. z. Olympia*, 692.

⁸¹ *Thuc.* I, 98, 3.

⁸² *Paus.* I, 2.

⁸³ *Thuc.* I, 26, 2.

⁸⁴ *Aelian, Varia Historia*, XIII, 15.

⁸⁵ Aristotle, *Politics*, IV, 4, 5: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλείονα μόρια καὶ τοὶ δῆμοι καὶ τῆς ἀλιγαρχίας εἰσὶν, ἐπὶ διαλεχτότεον ὥς εὖν' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλίγοι δέσπαι πλείονων καὶ μὴ θαυσιῶν ἀρχῶσι δῆμος, ὡς ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ.

⁸⁶ Aristotle, *I, 2*.

Corinthian trickle, but later it became an Attic flood, and the two cities can hardly have failed to benefit.⁸⁷

The Phocaeans were in all probability the first Greeks to reach the Po valley.⁸⁸ Herodotus does not say so, but he mentions their Adriatic voyages as ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι, comparable as achievements to the long expeditions to Spain, France and Tuscany. That they were the first Greeks to reach the northern end of the Adriatic is not quite certain, as Tuscany and Spain had certainly been reached by Greeks before the rise of Phocaea. Yet it is probable on the ground that the earliest Greek imports into Picenum and the Po lands are not much earlier than 600, and one of the earliest is the East Greek bronze from Numana. By this time the Phocaeans were undoubtedly active in the west, the foundation of Massalia falling in the year 600 and being subsequent to trade contacts with the south of France.⁸⁹ The thalassocracy followed in the sixth century.⁹⁰ Since then, the earliest imports in the northern Adriatic are contemporary with Phocaean activity elsewhere in the west, it is reasonable to connect the two and believe that the Phocaeans reached the Po and were the first to do so.

When Herodotus speaks of the Phocaeans as τὸν Ἀδρίην . . . οὗτοι οἱ καταδέξαντες he must mean very much more than that they sailed up to the most northerly point of the gulf. Etruria and Iberia had been fairly well known to Greeks for some time before the rise of Phocaea. The conclusion that the Phocaeans did more than was necessary for mere profit-making—that they were, in short, scientifically interested in the lands they visited—follows naturally from what Herodotus says of them. Others had sailed to the west, but it was left to the Phocaeans to make thorough studies of the coasts.

It is not denied that the Phocaean voyages were caused primarily by economic and political conditions. That the Phocaeans originally went far afield may well have been due to the fact that nearer sites for colonies were filling up,⁹¹ rather than to an unproven friendship for the Samians, whose fellow-citizen Colaeus was the first to make a fortune in southern Spain.⁹² That they explored Spain, the south of France, Tuscany and the Adriatic was probably due to the fact that they were looking for tin and the routes by which tin could reach the Mediterranean.⁹³ Confirmation for this view may be found in the scarcity of Phocaean traces in the Adriatic. There is a list of -ussa names: the Celadussae,⁹⁴ the Kornat group west of Šibenik, the unknown mainland city Melitusa,⁹⁵ Elaphussa,⁹⁶ known to the Romans

⁸⁷ See below, Section III, notes 215 ff., for the evidence for these generalisations.

⁸⁸ Herod. I, 163; δ' Ἀδρίης does not mean the northern end of the Adriatic. See Appendix IV.

⁸⁹ Pseudo-Scymnus 211 ff.: cf. Aristotle, fr. 549; Justin, XLIII.

⁹⁰ J. L. Myres in *JHS* 1906, 84.

⁹¹ Cf. A. R. Burn in *JHS* 1927, 146.

⁹² Herod. IV, 152. It is doubtful whether this passage can be accepted at its face value, especially in regard to the ἀσφατος market of Tartessus, as it is said that a Protocorinthian amphora, now in Copenhagen,

was found in a 'Punic grave near Cadiz' (I am indebted to Mr. J. M. Cook for this information.)

⁹³ See below, notes 224 and 225 of Section III.

⁹⁴ Pliny, *N.H.* III, 152.

⁹⁵ Steph. Byz. Μελιτῶσα. There is no proof that the -ussa names are specifically Phocaean; yet I find it hard to believe that the very frequent occurrence of such names on the route to Tartessus and beyond is pure coincidence (see Schulten's edition of Avienus, p. 84, note 148).

⁹⁶ Steph. Byz. Ελαφύσα.

as Brattia and to the Croats as Brač, where, indeed, traces of a Greek settlement are coming to light.⁹⁷ There might conceivably have been a small Phocaean settlement on the site of Skrip,⁹⁸ on the northern shore of the island. There are the East Greek imports in Apulia,⁹⁹ Illyria¹⁰⁰ and the Po valley,¹⁰¹ none of which is specifically Phocaean, and which are perhaps better connected with Rhodian enterprise. There is, in brief, but little evidence outside of Herodotus for Phocaean voyages in the Adriatic. When the Phocaeans found what they wanted in Spain, they concentrated all their energies on securing the market and the route to it. They did not follow up their exploration of the Adriatic by commercial exploitation, and Adriatic enterprise passed into other hands; similarly Lampsacus became Milesian.¹⁰² When Harpagus attacked Phocaean, the citizens emigrated not to the Adriatic, but to Corsica and Massalia. It was fated that when the Phoenicians had beaten the Phocaeans out of Spain and closed the straits to Greek shipping, the Adriatic tin route should become of vital importance,¹⁰³ but that there should no longer be a Phocaean to reap the harvest.

Nevertheless their achievement even in this field was valuable, and the Greek world was interested. Scylax of Caryanda¹⁰⁴ was able to write up the human and perhaps the physical geography of the Illyrian coast. He may well have been standing on the shoulders of Phocaean pioneers.

There is enough archaeological evidence to justify the acceptance of the tradition of a Rhodian settlement in Apulia.¹⁰⁵ Though there is no good evidence for the belief that the Rhodians were active in the west at any very early period,¹⁰⁶ they were undoubtedly colonising in Sicily in the seventh century,¹⁰⁷ and their Italian enterprise may well fall in the sixth. Their influence is probably perceptible on the Tremiti islands¹⁰⁸ north of Monte Gargano as early as the beginning of the sixth century, though it is impossible, for geographical reasons, that they settled on the barren group for the same reason as the Eretrians settled on the offshore islands of Pithecussa and Oricus.¹⁰⁹ They lie too far north for trade with Apulia, shielded from sight by the massive block of Gargano. It was as holy islands, the islands of Diomedes, that they were famous; and if, in their piety, the Rhodian and Coan pioneers planted planes upon them and made them grow, it is witness of the depth of feeling which led to so arduous an acclimatisation. It is fair to call the islands a total economic loss.

Yet another indication of the influence of south Dorians in northern Apulia may be found in the cults of Podalirius and Calchas,¹¹⁰ who were

⁹⁷ I am indebted to Dr. Abramčić, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Split, for this information and much other kindness.

⁹⁸ For a description of the site, and the Roman finds, see *RE* sub Brattia.

⁹⁹ See p. 193 of Section III.

¹⁰⁰ See note 69 of this Section, p. 168.

¹⁰¹ See p. 193 of Section III.

¹⁰² Cf. Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation*, 50 for references.

¹⁰³ See below, notes 224, 225 of Section III.

¹⁰⁴ See note 5, Section I.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Strabo, 654; Vitruvius, 1, 4, 12; Steph.

Byz. *Lexicon*. Archaeological evidence is given on p. 193.

¹⁰⁶ The time note given in Strabo 654 is unacceptable ($\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{O}\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\iota\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ surely means 'before the first Olympiad', though Hiller von Gaertringen in *RE* s.2. Rhodes appears to take it to mean 'before the introduction of dating by Olympiads').

¹⁰⁷ Thuc. VI, 3, 3 (Gela 690).

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix I for references.

¹⁰⁹ Pace Mayer, *Apulien*, 401.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix I.

honoured with heroa on Monte St. Angelo, or Drion, a hill south of Gargano. In the sixth and fifth centuries the hellenisation of native Italian cults on the Adriatic was going on apace, as Greeks in increasing numbers began to settle around the sea.

Tradition recorded the name of the oecist of the joint Coo-Rhodian settlement in northern Apulia. Elpias¹¹¹ is more probably an eponym than a historical figure, though the name is perfectly possible.¹¹² The city was variously known as Elpia or Elpiae or Salpia or Salapia,¹¹³ but its site is likely to remain unknown. It must have been somewhere near the Lago di Salpi, but the water-level has risen and fallen more than once, and there is no particular reason to suppose that the city on the lake in Cicero's¹¹⁴ day was on the site of the South Dorian settlement. In Roman times the inhabitants had to move their homes twice at least. The Coans and Rhodians at Salpia were confronted by a vigorous native civilisation of marked individuality. The Daunians had no use for Greek pottery, preferring their own powerful geometric ware to the artistically far more valuable work of the Rhodian and Corinthian workshops. In the fifth century they remained impervious to the attractions of Attic products in just the same way. It is a mystery why they eventually succumbed in the later period. In these circumstances there was little trade between the Greeks and the Daunians.¹¹⁵ Salpia must have lived on its fertile cornland and its salt pans.¹¹⁶ To the south, indeed, dwelt the Peucetians, who were far more susceptible to Greek influences.¹¹⁷ Ruvo imported a fair amount, and though Corinth and Athens seem to have captured the market, the East Greeks may have done the carrying. There is no direct evidence that they did, but as they had a foothold on the coast, and, so far as we know, the other cities had not, it is not improbable.

While the Rhodians and Coans settled in Apulia,¹¹⁸ their neighbours, the Cnidians, were active on the Illyrian coast. In the early years of the sixth century they were enterprising and fortunate enough to deliver the 300 Corcyrean boys from the unpleasant fate to which Periander's desire for revenge on the city that had broken away from him had condemned them.¹¹⁹ The Corcyreans were grateful, and accorded valuable material

¹¹¹ Vitruvius, *l.c.*; Steph. Byz. 'Ελπία.

¹¹² Cf. nos. 4670-71 in Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*.

¹¹³ Vitruvius, *l.c.*; Steph. Byz. 'Ελπία; Strabo, 654.

¹¹⁴ Cicero, *De Leg. Ag.* 71.

¹¹⁵ See p. 193 below on Greek trade with Apulia.

¹¹⁶ See Philipp in *RE* s.v. Salpia.

¹¹⁷ See p. 192 and note 239 below.

¹¹⁸ Randall-MacIver (*Iron Age in Italy*, 237) says that both Rugge and Egnazia were originally Rhodian colonies, but there is no ancient authority for the statement. Mayer (*Apulien*, 384 ff.) assembles the place-name arguments in favour of extensive Rhodian influence in Apulia, but by themselves they are too weak to be used as evidence.

¹¹⁹ Herod. III, 49; 'Phuarch' *De Herodoti Malignitate*, 860 B ff. — Ti ἔφησαν Κορίνθιοι Σαρπίσι

μὲν ἀργίζαντε βουλευθείσι θῶρον καὶ μὴ βυνηθείσι τοὺς Κερκυραίων παῖδας, Κνίδιος δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι οὐκ ἐνέκλουν; καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι Σαρπίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦτω λόγον οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσι Κνίδιον δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ Κνιδίους εἶναι τιμᾶν καὶ ἀτίλειαν καὶ φησίσματα παρ' αὐτοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπεπλευσαντες ἔβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ἑρῶς τοῦ Παράνθρου φύλακας· αὐτοὶ δ' ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς παῖδας εἰς Κέρκυραν δοκώσαν, ὥς Ἀντίφων ἐν τοῖς Κρητικαῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ Διονύσιος δὲ Χαλκιδεύς ἐν τοῖς Κριταῖς. The date of Dionysius is c. 350 (*FHG* IV, 393); that of Antenor not later than the second century B.C. (Schwarz in *RE*). It is curious that Antenor tells the story (in τοῖς Κρητικαῖς, though natural enough that it should come in Dionysius's *Kritika*). It is tempting to ask if it could not have been in the Κριταῖς of Μελίτιος Κερκύρας. Their version of the story is to be preferred to that of Herodotus: (1) because the latter is inconsistent. The aim of the elaborate religious subterfuge must have been to avoid an open breach with Corinth.

trade going north,¹²⁵ and even if many of the merchant vessels sailed well out to sea, they must have needed some ports of call, and the Black Corcyra is a very natural one. There was also a fair amount of local trade with the tribes of the Narenta valley,¹²⁶ and this must have passed near the island. The solution of the difficulty may be that the Cnidian settlement was not on the east end of the island at all, but elsewhere. Vela Luka on a beautiful harbour at the north-west end of the island is an obvious site, and its fertile plain and fisheries now support twice as many inhabitants as Korčula itself (circa 5000 as against 2200). But there are no ancient remains on the site so far as is known, and it cannot have been much use as a port of call. If the Cnidians did settle there, they must have been in need of land and not very interested in trade. There are two small pieces of positive evidence in favour of the view that the Cnidians settled on the Vela Luka end of the island. It is probable that a Corinthian pot¹²⁷ was found at Blato, the hamlet at the eastern end of the plain which slopes gently down to the harbour of Vela Luka. Secondly, the fourth-century Κορκυραίων coins which are generally attributed to the island have an ear of corn on them; and if the attribution is correct, it is evidence that the city was not on the eastern end of the island. The Blato-Vela Luka plain is the only one extensive enough for corn.

That the Cnidian colony was at Vela Luka may be the solution of the difficulty that the eastern end of the island was colonised from Issa in the fourth century: i.e. that some of the best land on the island was not in demand. The fact that land round Lumbarda was owned by the family of Pullus and Dazus is evidence that there was some organised community near by. They may conceivably have been Cnidians.¹²⁸

The Cnidian friendship with Tarentum may have been of some help to the south Dorians in the west. But its importance must not be exaggerated, because as late as the end of the sixth century Tarentum was a small town, with territory stretching no farther than the low ground around the Mar Piccolo.¹²⁹ It was only in the fifth century that it expanded, and the conquest of Iapygia called for such expenditure of blood and treasure that it is hardly surprising that we find few traces of Tarentine activity in the Adriatic. Brindisi seems to have remained in Messapian hands, and to have had trade contacts only with the Greeks, though there may have been a very early seventh-century exile settlement there.¹³⁰ The site was, indeed, well known in the fifth century, so that Herodotus could attempt to illustrate the geographical relation of the Crimea and south Russia by a reference to it, but it never attained importance before Roman times.¹³¹

¹²⁵ See Section III below.

¹²⁶ See Section III below, pp. 185-7.

¹²⁷ *Arch.-Epigr. Mitt.* ix, 33, note 3. I have not traced this pot (a 'Krug' = Oenochoe?), but it seems from the description to be Corinthian: it is *a priori* improbable that it is Italo-Corinthian.

¹²⁸ The names are not without parallel; e.g. Δαμύτριος Δάδου Τοπαρτίος (*BCH* xxxvi, 33), from Rhénia; cf. *IG* IX (2), 553, 13, Thessalian Larisa. Pullus does not seem to occur in Greece proper, but in Macedonia (*Dittenberger*, ed. III, 674, 28 ff. τῶν

ἐκπλ. Πύλλου Μεσσηνίων), and in Apulia, on the coins of Salapia, suggestive in view of the probability of South Dorian elements in the city.

¹²⁹ Tarentine friendship = Herod. III, 138. For information about sixth-century Tarentum I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Dunbabin, who gave me the opportunity of seeing his work on south Italy and Sicily when it was still in typescript.

¹³⁰ See p. 192 below.

¹³¹ Polyb. X, 1. Τάραντος (ὁ Τάρος) δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ἀδριακὸν λιμένας εὐφυῶς καὶ εὖν μὲν, ἐν δὲ

During the sixth century the Etruscans were engaged in the conquest of the Po valley. By the middle of the century they were firmly established, but the great value of this trans-Appennine market for Greek products dates from the last decade only.¹³² Corinthian vases had been imported in small quantities for several generations before this, from the opening of the century, and Attic begins to appear at Felsina about 530. These early imports probably came by way of Numana, which, though much to the south, has good landward communications. One tradition would lead us to believe that there was actually a Greek settlement at this place,¹³³ but it is very doubtful if any value can be attached to it. Though Pliny undoubtedly meant Syracusans by Siculi, and not native Italian Sicels,¹³⁴ since he says that Numana was founded by the same people as Ancona, a fourth-century exile settlement,¹³⁵ this very passage proves that he is not preserving the tradition of a sixth-century trading-post. That the Syracusans who went to Ancona to escape Dionysius of Syracuse should also occupy Numana on the southern side of Monte Conero, which protects the harbour of Ancona on the south and east, is probable enough. Pliny cannot, then, be used as evidence for an early Syracusan venture in the Adriatic, though it is possible that the colony on Issa was pre-fourth century.¹³⁶

The situation which confronted the Greeks who sailed to trade in the northern Adriatic towards the end of the sixth century was somewhat complicated. The Etruscans, good customers and by no means irreconcilable enemies—had they not tried to appease Greek sentiment by recognition of Delphi after their slaughter of the Phocaean captives of Alalia, and had not Delphi forgiven them by imposing no more severe penance than an ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν,¹³⁷ one of the greatest Greek and human joys?—were prosperously settled south of the Po, and were attempting with some success to extend their influence northward and southward. But the comparatively highly civilised Eneti, whose culture is best known from the tombs near Este,¹³⁸ then on the Adige, were undoubtedly quite free from their influence, and the Etruscan power north of the Po, such as it was, lay farther westward, and has no direct relation to the situation which faced the Greek colonists. To the south of the centre of Etruscan power at Felsina lived the Umbrians or Picenes, for the two names do not seem to represent different stocks, but only to be different terms to describe the

ἄλλου ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ γὰρ ἑκαστὸς Ἰαπυγίας ἕως εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς ὃ προσφερόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἰαπυγίων καὶ καθορισθεὶς πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰς Τάραντ' ἐπαιήτο τὴν ὁμιρίαν καὶ ταύτῃ συνεχρήτο τῇ πόλει πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλογὰς καὶ μετακίτους διὸν ἰαπυγίων οὐδέποτε γὰρ συνέβαινε τότε τὴν πᾶν ἑσπερίαν ἐκτελεῖν πόλιν. This might be taken as evidence that Tarentum monopolised Apulian trade in the early period, but Brindisi was certainly founded as early as Tarentum itself (cf. note 102); I incline to think that Polybius meant by the 'founding' the sending of the Latin colony. That Pseudo-Scylax 14 mentions Otranto and not Brindisi is an illustration of the latter city's unimportance in the fourth century.

¹³² The archaeological evidence on which this is

based is discussed in Section III, p. 190.

¹³³ Pliny, *N.H.* III, 18.

¹³⁴ *Thuc.* VI, 2, 4. Cf. *N.H.* III, 19 'Siculi et Liburni plurima eius tractus tenere, in primis Palmensem, Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum. Utrobi eos expulere, hos Etruria, hanc Galli.'

¹³⁵ Strabo 241. Cf. Appendix III.

¹³⁶ See below, note 186.

¹³⁷ Herod. I, 167.

¹³⁸ The Atestine culture is described in Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age of Italy*, 8 ff., a work on which the following attempt to give a brief account of the situation in the north-east of Italy before and at the time of the arrival of the Greeks has been based.

inhuming people who set a limit to the expansion of cremating invaders called Villanovans. Though the Umbrians were civilised in a sense—a Greek of the fourth century could even dare to suggest that they were over-civilised,¹³⁹ their tomb-furniture shows that they were a warlike folk. They were not, however, seafarers, despite the drawings on the Novilara stelae,¹⁴⁰ as their most important settlements lay inland, at Belmonte, Fabriano, Rapagnano, Castellsellino, and, less important, at Villamagna and Montefiortino. There was probably a settlement at Ancona, as Stephanus calls it πόλις Πικεντίνων, which must refer to pre-fourth-century times, but that they did not prize this, their best or only harbour, is proved by its fate in the fourth century. The Picene towns on the sea were Numana, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ravenna, and Cupramarittima, none of them with good natural harbours. The Picenes were far more receptive of foreign influence than the Atestines; not so much in their own art, as in appreciating that of other nations, in this case the Etruscans and Greeks.¹⁴¹

Politically the Etruscans were their natural enemies, who had already swamped their kinsmen to the north and west.¹⁴² What all three nations, Atestines, Picenes and Etruscans, had in common was comparative wealth. Etruscans and Picenes could and did afford Greek pottery of the finest, though the Picenes probably realised that it was expensive; the Attic pots at Numana which have been mended in ancient times outnumber those that have been preserved whole or broken in the opening of the graves. The Atestines did not import Greek manufactured goods before the later fifth century, but they could have done so had they wished. Their own bronze work and pottery show that they were not poor.

This situation was not static. During the course of the fifth century the power of the Etruscans began to wane; 473 saw their defeat by the Syracusans on the other sea, and the Gauls began to press down from the north or west.¹⁴³ However, the Etruscans contrived to maintain their position in the Po valley during the hundred odd years of the most developed Greek activity in the Adriatic. Indeed, their presence there was a presupposition of the prosperity of the Greek colonies.

Strange as it may seem, one of the earliest Greek settlements in the Po valley was made by Thessalians at Ravenna.¹⁴⁴ The evidence leads to this view. Sixth-century Thessaly was an expansive power which aimed at the 'penetration' of central Greece, in much the same way, and for much

¹³⁹ Theopompus in Athenaeus 526 f. (ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι ἀβροδιδόντων παρατελειώσας τὰ βιοτήτων τοῖς Ἀνδοῖς).

¹⁴⁰ Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, 119.

¹⁴¹ See below, notes 215 ff. of Section III.

¹⁴² Pliny, *N.H.* III, 113. (Etruscans destroy 300 Umbrian towns).

¹⁴³ Diodorus, XIV, 113, puts the first Gallic attack not much before the fall of Rome. Livy, V, 33, 6, makes the invasion of a long-drawn-out affair, which is *a priori* more likely.

¹⁴⁴ Strabo, 214. There is no reason to reject this tradition out of hand, as is always done, though the passage above is worded more confidently than is, I feel, altogether justified. That the tradition

fits the historical situation at the end of the sixth century I try to show in the text; internal evidence in favour of the tradition is: (1) It is not a 'pedigree' legend, as the Thessalians did not stay in the Po valley. (2) It can hardly have anything to do with a 'Pelagian' myth, as no tradition connecting 'Pelagians' and Umbrians and an Etruscan war is known. (3) Finally, is it likely that so odd a thing as a Thessalian colony in the Po valley would be invented? Rosenberg's suggestion that the legend grew up round a by-name of Ravenna, Rene (Zosimus, V, 27) and Rhene, mother of Medon, who occurs in some obscure Thessalian myth, is not good enough.

the same reasons, as Sparta aimed at the reduction of the Messenians to helotry. At the time of the Sacred War, Thessaly was on the high road to success, but she ultimately failed, and was punished at Cereus in Boeotia, and in Phocis.¹⁴⁵ It may well have been at this time that she tried to get rid of her surplus population by colonisation. She chose the Po valley, for a variety of reasons. It was a natural choice. The fame of the horses of the Eneti, of the rich soil and the great river at the head of the gulf, was widespread in Greece by the later sixth century. Greek ships had been going north from Corcyra and the Illyrian to trade on the east coast of Italy for full three generations, and even if rustic Thessaly took little interest in the new Etruscan market and the tin-route, many Thessalians must have heard of the Adriatic lands from the nomad shepherds who spent the summer on the slopes of Pindus and drove their flocks north to winter on the hills which looked down on Apollonia, Epidamnus and the Ionian Sea. In summer, at least, Pindus does not cut Thessaly off from Epirus.¹⁴⁶ From the upper reaches of the Peneus' tributaries to the Corcyra channel is but four days march, and north to Apollonia but eight. The Thessalians did not need to round Cape Malea, but could cross the Metsovo pass and take ship at Onchesmus, Chimera,¹⁴⁷ Oricus or Apollonia, following the route taken by their legendary ancestors, the Pelasgians, who passed through Epirus at the start of the wanderings which led them, too, to the mouth of the Po, where they staked out their claim to Italy with more success.¹⁴⁸

The Thessalian venture failed, because the Etruscans opposed it. This was natural enough if the Thessalians were out for land, and were not traders. The Umbrians, who looked to the newcomers as allies against the intruders from the west, supported them, but they finally sailed away, leaving the city to the natives. They had failed to get the open country for which they had come.

The Aeginetan settlers in the Po valley were most likely traders,¹⁴⁹ who in all probability left Greece for Umbria about the turn of the century, before the preoccupation of their city with the Athenian war. The colony must at any rate be earlier than the fifties. The memory of the venture was apparently preserved in Aegina, for Strabo says nothing of it in his Italian chapters. From the way he speaks of it we may guess that it was nearly contemporary with the other Aeginetan colony, at Cydonia in Crete. This latter and the trading settlement in the Egyptian delta were Aegina's only colonial ventures but for the Umbrian colony. That the Po valley trade was of great importance, of importance comparable to the Egyptian, is suggested by this fact. After c. 510 the value of Adriatic trade was undoubtedly very great. It was about this time that the two

¹⁴⁵ Cereus *De Mal. Herod.* 33. *Plut. Camillus*, XIX. Phocian disaster, *Herod.* VIII, 27.

¹⁴⁶ *BSA* xxxii, pp. 139-47.

¹⁴⁷ There is a polygonal wall at Himara which looks to be sixth-century or earlier. There are no Hellenic remains at Onchesmus (Santi Quaranta). Both are obvious sites for Corcyrean forts (*cf. Thuc.* III, 85).

¹⁴⁸ *Dion. Hal.* I, 60, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Strabo, 376, ἀπολιούς δ' ἄριστοι Αἰγινήται εἰς τὴν Κυβωτίαν πηλὴ ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ εἰς Ὀμβρικόους. I am indebted to Mr. A. A. Blakey for pointing out to me the possible relevance of the fact that a considerable percentage of so-called Aeginetan colonial mark coins, not Cydonian (for which *cf. E. G. S. Robinson in Num. Chron.* Vth Series, vol. 8) came from the Woodhouse collection made on Corfu.

most important Greek cities of the Po valley were founded. Spina¹⁵⁰ was settled about this year. There are no Umbrian remains on the site, and the earliest imports are all roughly contemporary, c. 510. It looks rather as if the city did not begin as a tiny settlement of a few traders, but was deliberately chosen by a fairly large number. If, as is probable, though not quite certain, the city was built on piles,¹⁵¹ some sort of concerted effort must have been necessary to found it. As the Greeks must have known the Po valley fairly well by this time, this seems likely enough. But there is little reason to suppose that the colony was sent out by any one Greek city. Strabo merely calls it a famous Greek city, without specifying a mother state. It will hardly be doubted that a large number of the settlers were Athenians; the graffiti on the vases, and the fact that all the Greek imports but a few East Greek terracottas are Attic are strong evidence for this view. But there is no reason to suppose that the colony was exclusively Athenian. The population was probably very mixed. There were certainly strong Etruscan elements in Spinate culture,¹⁵² and the presence of Etruscans is proved by inscriptions in the Etruscan script on Greek pots. It is equally obvious that the city was not wholly Etruscan, or even predominantly so; some graves are entirely Italic,¹⁵³ and others have yielded Etruscan lampstands and furniture that might well come from a Felsina grave. But, taken as a whole, the graves are Greek, and for this reason one is justified in following Strabo in calling Spina a Greek city.

The site has already been discussed,¹⁵⁴ and of the history there is little to say. The city's life was short, its rise to sea-power rapid. Control of the northern Adriatic must have been gained during the fifth century, probably between 480 and 400, the years which saw the trade with Athens reach its greatest expansion. It is tempting to suggest that the dedication which the Spinates made at Delphi was from the spoils of the Aeginetan colony in Umbria. As Strabo¹⁵⁵ says, the offerings were ἀπὸ λαφύριων ἀνατεθέντα, and these spoils must have been very rich indeed, if they could be men-

¹⁵⁰ The identification with Spina of the city the necropolis of which has been excavated in Valle Trebba, the vases being now in Ferrara (see Aurigemma, *Il R. Museo di Spina*), rests primarily on Strabo 214, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀδρίων ἐν Δαί, παραλήσαντες ἔχον τῇ Ραυόνει τῇ θείᾳ. Μεταξὺ δὲ βοήτριον τῇ Ραυόνει; πόλις καὶ ἡ Σπῖνα, and Pliny, *N.H.* III, 120, Hoc ante Eridanum ostium dictum est, aliis Spineticum ab Urbe Spina. . . . Auger ibi Padum Vatreus amnis ex Forocornelleni agro. This identification has not been questioned. On the wealth of Spina cf. Beazley, *JHS* lvi, 89.

¹⁵¹ Aurigemma, *op. cit.*, 16. 'L'esempio di Adria e l'assente di strutture murarie riferibili ad età etrusca, sia in Valle Trebba, sia nelle prossime valli a mezzogiorno della strada per Comacchio insinuano il sospetto che l'abitato dell'antica Spina fosse costituito da una vasta palafitta. . . . Peraltro, di una palafitta di età romana, sembra, si è constatata l'esistenza quasi alle porte dell'odierna Comacchio.'

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 12. The most cogent evidence there

produced is the Etruscan graffiti. So little of the tomb structure has survived, the wood having perished, that one is inclined to be sceptical about 'le analogie fra le necropoli etrusche di Marzabotto e di Felsina e il sepolcristo di Spina.' Admitting that the size of some tombs, e.g. 553, can be ascertained from the surviving fragments of wood, one has no reason to believe that all the tombs were built on the same principle; the diversity of the burial rites (e.g. tomb no. 506 contains cremated bones and an inhumed child; ratio of burial methods is 686 inhumed, 486 cremated, 41 uncertain, Aurigemma, p. 26. Tomb furniture is found to the right and the left and as both sides of the corpse), tells rather against the idea.

¹⁵³ Tomb 555.

¹⁵⁴ Aurigemma, *op. cit.*, 14.

¹⁵⁵ Strabo, 421, ἀποκρίσθαι γὰρ ἐν θησαυροῖς, ἀπὸ λαφύριων ἀνατεθέντα, ἐπιγραφὰς ποικίλτας ἐν αἷς καὶ οἱ ἀναθῆναι ἔργου καὶ Κροίσου καὶ Σουαρτίων καὶ Σπινητῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

tioned in company with those sent by Sybaris, which ruled twenty-five cities and four tribes, and the Lydian kings, Gyges and Croesus. The defeat of sea-raiders would not justify this, and, though the Etruscans were rich enough to be very profitably spoiled, it is highly unlikely that the Spinates were on bad terms with their neighbours. Apart from the fact that there were Etruscans at Spina—this in itself would not be a bar to war, for Etruscans must have fought Etruscans as readily as Greeks fought Greeks—a glance at the map shows that the purpose of the Greeks at Spina was trade with the Etruscans at Felsina. Spina was virtually the port of Felsina. Conversely the citizens of Felsina were dependent on the Spinates for the readiest supply of the luxuries which sweetened their lives. Add to this that the Aeginetan colony in Umbria has left no trace of itself outside of Strabo, and the strong influence of Athens, Aegina's arch-foe, at Spina, and it seems not improbable that the Spinate thalassocracy meant the end of the Aeginetan colony.

It has been suggested that it was the retreat of the sea which led to the virtual abandonment of Spina.¹⁵⁶ But if it is correct to restore Σπίνα in the text of Pseudo-Scylax 17, Spina could certainly be reached from the sea by the river in the late fourth century; that is, almost as late as the latest finds from the site.¹⁵⁷ It was the destruction of Etruscan prosperity by the inroads and finally the settlement of the Gauls, far more than the silting up of the river, leading to the loss of a market and the harrying of the city, which led to the decadence and disappearance of Spina. So that Strabo could say of it νῦν μὲν κοῤῥιον, πάλαι δὲ Ἑλληνισ πόλις ἐνδοξος.

All that has been said of the archaeological history of Spina applies also to Adria. It experienced the same rapid peak, after a slightly later start, and declined in the fourth century, though it had more of a future in front of it in later times. It was a mixed settlement of Greeks and Etruscans, a fact to which the literary tradition in its confusion does ample justice.¹⁵⁸ Its wealth was considerable, enabling the expense of the construction of an elaborate system of canals to be borne. This prosperity must have been due to the tin trade rather than to export of Greek manufactures to Este. Geographically, Este was Adria's natural market, but there is very little trace of Greek importation there before 440, and even after that year the non-Atestine element is slight. Yet Adria was not a famous city. The name did not suggest bustling activity to the mind of the average Athenian. To him it sounded far away,¹⁵⁹ as far as the Ganges sounded to a German in the twenties of the nineteenth century when Heinrich Heine was dreaming and writing of it. But neither the city Adria nor the river Ganges was commercially unimportant.

Spina and Adria were such close neighbours that really unhappy

¹⁵⁶ E.g. by Aurigemma, p. 4. 'L'allontanarsi di Spina dal mare, pel più lungo corso del fiume, fu, con altre cause, l'essenziale ragione per cui Spina decadde e sparì.' But see Dion. Hal. I, 18.

¹⁵⁷ It is hard to date the late Italian from Valle Trebbia. It is later than the latest Attic imports, which are c. 360 (e.g. Schufeldt, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertschen Vasen*, Nos. 349-50). Beazley, *JHS* lvi, 88

dates the latest graves to the early third century.

¹⁵⁸ Greek: Justin XXI explicitly, Hecataeus, fr. 58, implicitly, calling it polis without qualification. Etruscan: Livy, V, 33, 7. Plutarch, *Camillus*, 14. Pliny, *N.H.* III.

¹⁵⁹ Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 735 ff. ἀρξίην δ' ἐπὶ πόντιον κῆρυ γὰρ Ἀδριατὴς δαίτης Ἡράκλειος θ' ὄδωρ. . . . Ἑσπερίδω δ' ἐπὶ ἀηδόσπορον ἀκράν. . . .

relations between them would have destroyed the possibility of existence. Since, however, the two cities were not trade rivals, Adria being unable to compete at Felsina and Spina being less favourably situated on the tin route, they could contrive to live happily together. They can, at least, have had no inherited feuds. They had the chance of living better, at least according to an Epicurean calculus, than the Greeks who knew the exhilaration of the Persian war and the bitterness of the struggle of the Peloponnesians against the power of Athens.

III. TRADE.

Greek trade with the Adriatic was limited to four areas, which one may call the south Illyrian, the Narenta, the Po valley, and the Apulian. These are terms of convenience only, as, for instance, a discussion of Greek trade with Picenum must be included in any treatment of the Po valley area, and the Greek imports at Lecce will be dealt with under the Apulian area.

It is probable that the most important product of the south Illyrian area in the archaic period was silver. It is true that the most recent authority on the subject of ancient mining is sceptical about the early working of the mines of Damastium,¹⁶⁰ and that consequently the onus of proof must fall on those who hold the contrary view. The case for the early working of Illyrian silver is as follows. No one has ever tried to separate Strabo's Damastium passage from the silver coinage with the legend Damastini. This is copious and securely dated to the fourth century. It is, then, certain that the mines were being worked in the fourth century. There is nothing inherently improbable in the notion that a Greek city controlled the mines before that time. O. Davies writes that the remoteness of the mines from the coast makes this unlikely, but his views on their position cannot be maintained from anything that is in the text of Strabo. 'It (Damastium) was in the territory of the Dyestae and Encheleii, who were separated from Epidamnus and Apollonia by other tribes, but on the east bordered on the Lyncestae of the plain of Bitolj.'¹⁶¹ Actually Strabo¹⁶² says nothing about any tribe Dyestae, nor does any other ancient authority, and nothing in his words justifies the assumption that the mines lay in territory that was bordered on the east by the plain of Bitolj and the Lyncestae. For if πρὸς τοῦτοις means only 'in addition to,' it is without bearing on the relative position of the mines and the Lyncestae. If it means 'next to' in a geographical sense, it must, or, at least, might, qualify the whole list of tribes of the Black Drin (Pelagonia) and Crna Reka valleys, and consequently there is no better reason for the belief that Strabo meant that the mines were just west of Bitolj than for believing that he meant

¹⁶⁰ O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, 239.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Δυστάται is an emendation of the text of Strabo, 326; the MSS. run Περιόδοις τε συνιστάσαντες. . . . I quote the relevant passage: ἀνοικησάντων δὲ τούτοις (the inhabitants of Orestis) τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη τὰ πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ μέρει τῆς ὀρενῆς καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου

τῆς γὰρ Ἐπίδαμου καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας μέχρι τῶν Κεραινῶν ὑπερσκαύσαι βυλλιονίς τε καὶ Ταυλαντίαι καὶ Παρθίνοι καὶ Βρύγαι πηλαίαν δέ πονι καὶ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα τὰ ἐν Δαμαστίῳ περισκαύσαντες συνιστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ Ἐγγελλῶν καὶ Σααρπίδιους καλοῦσι πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Λυγκηστῶν τε καὶ ἡ Διορίστος καὶ ἡ Τριτολίτις Πελαγονία καὶ Ἐσρδοὶ καὶ Ἐλίμα καὶ Ἐσάτυρα.

that they were just west of the valley of the Black Drin—that is, not as much as a week's march from the Albanian coast. The argument that the coin types of the coins of the Damastini resemble those of the Paconian kingdom on the Vardar does not prove that the Damastini were neighbours of the Paconians, but only that they had contacts with them, which, indeed, is probable enough. Finally, Strabo specifically says that the Lyncestae were not ruled by a native dynasty, but by a Bacchiad family,¹⁶³ so that the argument that if the mines lay far inland, they are not likely to have been under direct Greek control is weakened almost to annihilation. There are some positive reasons for the belief that the mines were worked in the interest of a Greek city in the period earlier than the Damastini coinage. The mangled text of Strabo mentions the tribe Sesarethii in connexion with the mines, and the only other time that this name is mentioned or, rather, that it reoccurs in any form, is in Hecataeus,¹⁶⁴ and by comparison with two other fragments from the same author, it is clear that they were a northerly offshoot of the Taulantii, the neighbours of Epidamnus,¹⁶⁵ and that they must have lived in what is now the Mirdite country or the Dukajin, just south of the middle Drin. There is silver in both these districts.¹⁶⁶ The significance of the fact that Strabo in talking about the mines mentions as having control over their neighbourhood a tribe which is only mentioned elsewhere in a late sixth-century author, and this, too, when we have long lists of Illyrian tribal names in Pseudo-Scylax, Pseudo-Scymnus, Ptolemy, Pliny, and indirectly in Polybius and Livy, need hardly be stressed. There is a certain degree of probability that Strabo's source was an early one. The question can also be approached from the other end, from a consideration of the early history of Corinth, her relations with the north-west and her activities in Illyria. It has been argued by some authorities that the real cause of the hostility of Corinth and Corcyra was rivalry for the control of the Illyrian silver mines. The case is a fairly strong one, but has been spoilt by misstatement and neglect of some of the evidence. It is, for instance, doubtful whether those numismatists who believe that early Corinthian silver came from Illyria should also date the first Corinthian coins to the early years of the reign of Cypselus, about a generation and a half before the foundation of Epidamnus, and perhaps as much before that of Apollonia. This point has been obscured by the tendency to locate the mines in Epirus,¹⁶⁷ which was reached by the Greeks earlier. But Strabo, the only source, put the mines north of the Taulantii, some 200 kilometres north of the proposed sites in Epirus. As there is no evidence of

¹⁶³ Strabo, 926.

¹⁶⁴ *HHG* I, 5 fr. 67 Χαλιδόωνι ἔθνος Ὀλύριον. Σερσηθίων πρὸς Ῥώμην χιλιόων Χαλιδόων, cf. fr. 63 ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Ἀλπίῳ Ταντατίωνι (sic) προσέχῃ τοῖς Χαλιδόωνι. Fr. 68 links the two together. Σησάρητος πόλις Ταντατίων. Jacoby I, frs. 99-101.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Plut.* I, 24; Pseudo-Scylax 26; *De Mir. Aus.* 127; Pliny, *N.H.* III, 144 (putting them north of the Drin).

¹⁶⁶ Jireček, *Handelsstraßen und Bergwerke Serbiens während des Mittelalters* (ed. I), 42 : 'ein von Prof. I. Juhel junger im venezianischen Archiv

gefundenes Document aus dem Jahre 1395' mentions three north Albanian silver mines, at Fandi in the Dukajin, Bulgari in the Mirdite country, and 'in den Bergen oberhalb Alessio.' I have not found these mines or traced the document, but it is improbable that such a source would be unreliable on the fact of the presence of silver. There is a lump of silver ore in the mineralogical collection of the Jesuits in Scutari, said to come from Merturi in the Dukajin.

¹⁶⁷ Davies, *op. cit.* 239. Sellman, *Athens: Its History and Coinage*, 128.

pre-colonisation contact in the neighbourhood of Epidamnus, it would not perhaps be overbold to say that early Corinthian coins, if struck from Illyrian silver, cannot be dated much before the thirties of the seventh century. It should also be added that those who believe that Corinth did use Illyrian silver need not associate themselves with some of the arguments¹⁶⁸ put forward by some advocates of the theory.

The best literary evidence is implicit in Thucydides, I, 25, 4. Is it really credible that the Corinthians disliked the Corcyreans to such an extent as to fight them for the reasons that he gives *μισοὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἄποικοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν . . . περιφρονούντες δέ . . .*? It is surely justifiable to look for something more concrete. Again, why was it 'a necessity' (ἀνάγκη) for the Corinthians to make frequent voyages to Corcyra? The voyage to Sicily need not have taken a Corinthian merchantman within fifty miles of the island, and Corinthian trade with the Adriatic, which must indeed have passed near Corcyra, was, apart from the possibility of silver, in luxuries, and on the available evidence it can hardly be ranked as a vital interest. Thucydides, I, 37, 4 is clear evidence that Corcyra lay on some vital Corinthian trade route. Corinth simply had to make the voyage to the north. What was it, if it was not silver, that made the Adriatic trade so valuable? This is not to suggest that the early hostility between the two cities, made famous by the first sea battle, had anything to do with the exploitation of Illyrian silver. It is improbable that Greeks would be in control of Illyrian mines so early as the first half of the seventh century, though there may have been a little local trade between Oricus and the mainland and the iris trade may have begun before the foundation of Epidamnus.¹⁶⁹ The first war can quite well have been fought on the independence issue. After the attainment of Corcyrean freedom, and the adoption of an extremely liberal attitude by the Corinthians, who asked for nothing more than a trifling concession to sentiment, this was a dead issue, and it was the clear interest of both cities to bury the hatchet. Yet they did not.

There is a certain amount of evidence for Corinthian penetration of Illyria. From the early years of the fifth century a Bacchiad family was ruling the Lyncestae, and the first arrival of the house of Arrhabaeus in Illyria is likely *a priori* to have been earlier by some years than the attainment of power.¹⁷⁰ In the second half of the sixth century native chiefs in the country north of Lake Ohrida were importing Peloponnesian bronze work,¹⁷¹ which might indeed have reached Trebeniste as easily from the

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Selman, *op. cit.* 129; 'it is a fair assumption that the Brygoi of Epirus were no more backward than their cousins, the Bryges of Thrace, in working the silver-bearing veins.'

¹⁶⁹ See below, notes 174 and 175.

¹⁷⁰ Strabo, 326. Arrhabaeus, according to Strabo the first Bacchiad to rule in Illyria, was grandfather of Eurydice, mother of Philip of Macedon; she must have been born in the thirties or twenties of the fifth century. This tells against the view that the Bac-

chiad origin of the house was legendary: had it been, a synchronisation with the Argive Macedonian dynasty would have been natural. But no such high antiquity was claimed.

¹⁷¹ Filow (*Die Archaische Nekropolis von Trebeniste*) argues that the bronze work is Corinthian (supported, with reservations, in *Necrocorinthia*, 216). The contents of the new grave (*Öjh* 1932, 1 ff.) have led to the view that the finds are Laconian.

Aegean as the Adriatic, but must in all probability have come via a Corinthian colony, be it Potidaea or Epidamnus. In the thirties of the fifth century the Adriatic Illyrians were traditionally the friends of Corinth.¹⁷²

In strong contrast to this is the lack of evidence for Corinthian activity in the Thracian silver area, despite the relative proximity of the dutiful colony at Potidaea, and the inherent improbability of the idea that Siphnos supplied the needs of both Aegina and Corinth. There is no evidence that Corinth got her silver from Spain, whence, in all probability, Himera, the earliest city to coin in Sicily, drew her supply.¹⁷³ If, then, it is admitted that the copiousness of Corinthian coinage, which enabled her to export her money to the west, indicates that the city was in control of some mining area, it is to Illyria, and to Damastium, that we must look. The evidence here set out is far from conclusive, but does lend a certain plausibility to the idea of the working of north Albanian silver in early times.

Silver apart, Corinthian trade with the Illyrian area was in luxuries. The valleys of the Drin and the Narenta produced the famous Illyrian iris,¹⁷⁴ from which, in all probability, the scent that was exported in aryballoi¹⁷⁵ was made. This may well have been the earliest Illyrian export, silver being discovered by the merchants pushing up the Drin valley on their quest for the iris. Near the mouth of the river, which was in those days navigable for some distance inland,¹⁷⁶ the Greeks established themselves before the fifth century. They fortified the hill which rises steeply 186 metres above the left bank of the Drin, and they would also occupy the land round the bay 7 kilometres north-west. Nymphaeum,¹⁷⁷ as the port was called, was protected only on the north and west,¹⁷⁸ but it was at any rate the first possible harbour north of Epidamnus. The settlement they called Lissus. The original circuit enclosed by the massive walls must have been very considerable; in fact, it is not improbable, to judge from the ruins, that they stretched down from the hill to the river like Long Walls. The value of the place was that it commanded the plain of the lower Drin, probably more fertile then than now, and was on a natural line of communication to the north and the interior. There is a bare possibility that it was, like Epidamnus, the end station of a long and difficult overland route to the Aegean.¹⁷⁹ There was at any rate some local trade. A Corinthian bronze figure¹⁸⁰ of Artemis

¹⁷² Thuc. 1, 47, 3.

¹⁷³ This was pointed out to me by Mr. A. A. Blakeway, who had discerned and was working out archaeological evidence connecting silver from the north-west with Corinth.

¹⁷⁴ Pliny, *N.H.* XXI, 40 (Iris laudatissima in Illyrico, et ibi quoque non in maritima, sed in silvestribus Drinonis et Naronae); Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* IV, 5, 2 (Iris grows best in Illyria and round the Adria). Cf. *De Caus. Plant.* VI, 18, 2 (Iris scentless in Thrace); Athenaeus, 553 (μυρον ἴριος used in Athens in fifth century). Cf. Appendix I.

¹⁷⁵ Corinth exported scent. *Nectanorinthis* 5, note 3 (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* III, 2, *Iridum Corinthii diu maxime*

placuit). I am indebted to Mr. A. A. Blakeway for pointing out to me the relevance of the iris.

¹⁷⁶ Strabo, 316. *Ἀρδανὸν ποταμὸς . . . ἐνέπλεον ἔχων πρὸς ἑαυτῷ τῇ Δαρδανείῃ.*

¹⁷⁷ Earliest mention in Apollonius Rhodius IV, 574. *Νυμφαίων παραμυθόν, ἵνα κρῆνονα Καλλιπῶ Ἀτλαντὶς ἐρίσσει.*

¹⁷⁸ Caesar, *B.C.* III, 26 . . . Nymphaeum qui portus . . . ab Austro non erat tutus.

¹⁷⁹ I hope to discuss elsewhere the evidence for dating the original walls of the fortress at Lesh before the time of Dionysius of Syracuse. Evidence for the Drin valley-Ohrid route to the Aegean in Appendix II.

¹⁸⁰ Published in *RA* XXIV, 1, pl. XV, and

type has come to light at Gourizi, due east of Scutari, midway between the town and the river. At Vau y Deyes, a hamlet at a Drin ford due south of Scutari, there was apparently a market for Attic pottery in the fifth century.¹⁸¹ The figure from Gourizi must be earlier than this, though it is not easy to say where in the sixth century it belongs; probably the latter half. North of the lake, on the hills east of the level plain formed by the junction of the Zeta and the Morača, an Illyrian hill fort was built in all probability as early as the fifth century. A Greek overseer, or perhaps Greek workmen, were employed to shape the local limestone blocks into well-fitting polygonal building stones. The walls were considerable in extent, as the part that has survived is a good 140 yards from the top of the hill, which is now crowned by the impressive ruins of the mediaeval fortress of Medun. This must have been at the centre of the original Greco-Illyrian system of fortifications.¹⁸²

Nothing is known of the material civilisation of these Illyrians, and it is impossible to judge to what extent they imported from the Corinthian colonies until there has been some excavation in North Albania. It is *a priori* probable that they never imported much, as they can hardly have been in a position to pay. Iris roots grew wild in the woods and could be had for the taking, and the mines were presumably worked under Corinthian direction. Too poor to be hellenised by adoption of the material culture of Greece, and too warlike to be hellenised by conquest, they have remained Illyrians, pious and hospitable.¹⁸³

Greek trade with the Narenta area did not begin very much before the second quarter of the sixth century. After this Corinthian pots were exported to the islands and the shores near by, but probably not in any very considerable number.¹⁸⁴ The island settlements traded with the tribes of the Hercegovina, who in their turn passed on Greek imports over the watershed of the Narenta and the Bosna into the heart of the peninsula. It may be doubted if any Greek traders penetrated so far inland, as the

mentioned by Ugolini, *Albania Antica*, 15, note 2, as having been in the collection of a M. Perrot at Scutari. The drawing in *RA* is bad; but it is evident that the figure it attempts to represent is now in the Louvre (De Ridder, *Bronze Antiques du Louvre*, 27, pl. 16); cf. also de Ridder, *op. cit.* no. 141, pl. 16: a fifth-century Corinthian Aphrodite, 'from Albania.' This latter can be attributed to Corinth with more confidence than can the former, for which I am unable to find a parallel. The latter is partially paralleled by *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 46, no. 4.

¹⁸¹ Ugolini, *op. cit.* 35.

¹⁸² On the importance of the position of Medun, see Sülffay, *Städte und Burgen Albanien*. For the date of the wall, cf. note 179.

¹⁸³ Pseudo-Scymnus, 422-3.

¹⁸⁴ See below, notes 185, 186. There is one import that is in all probability earlier than the pots there mentioned. This is the boar, illustrated in *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, VI, 51, and described by Casson, *op. cit.*, p. 310, as 'a silver jewel representing a boar in relief probably of Ionian workmanship.' But this boar is quite unlike East

Greek boars (cf. Price, *JHS* 1923, 199; *Clara Rhodes*, VI-VII, 492, fig. 19). The most salient characteristic, the deeply hollowed back, is not shared to any marked degree by the Sarajevo example, and its nearest parallel seems to be the boar on a round aryballos with foot (Johansen, pl. XLIV, 1), date 650-40 (*Necrocorinthia*, no. 18, 269). It is most likely Corinthian. This boar is, then, nearly two generations earlier than any pots that have been found on the islands, let alone up the Narenta. As, however, so precious an object would be carefully treated, it is probable that it would survive long after it was made: i.e. it is far less convincing evidence of seventh-century Greek contact with Bosnia than would be a sherd. In this connexion it should be mentioned that this boar cannot ever have stood on the neck of a column crater; it is too thin, and shows no sign of ever having been attached to anything. As an object, it is paralleled by a horse of double 'Silberblech' from Trebenische, as Filow, *op. cit.*, p. 29, notes; the parallel is not exact, as the Sarajevo boar is one thickness of 'Silberblech' only.

difficulty of the route is great and the climate harsh. The valley of the Narenta trends up northwards to the interior, but its gorges are a very serious obstacle in the way of following it, though they can, of course, be turned by devious ways. It is hard to believe that such a route was in use, its difficulty being quite out of proportion to the return which the country behind the watershed had to offer. Though thickly populated at the time, Bosnia had little to give in compensation for the long and weary journey. The rich men who were buried on the Glasinac imported amber from the north in some quantity, but they had very little contact with the south. One wonders by what odd chance the thin plate of silver, cut by a Greek artist who was most likely a Corinthian into the shape of a boar perhaps as early as the middle of the seventh century, came to be buried in a Hallstatt grave in the rough country south of Sarajevo.

There is reason to suppose that some of the Illyrians were peaceable folk; the tribe on the Zara peninsula certainly took no very great interest in the things of war.¹⁸⁵ The Illyrians of the Narenta region imported Greek weapons in some quantity, but so far as we can judge very little pottery.¹⁸⁶ Helmets¹⁸⁷ found their way up the Trebizat, the large north-western tributary of the Narenta; also to Trogir, the island Brač and farther north into the Lika. Some found their way into the interior, as far as the Bosna valley near Travnik, and the Save valley near its junction with the Urbas. This was towards the end of the sixth century. The trade was not very considerable in amount, but it had a certain importance, because it made the existence of small Greek settlements on the islands and the coast possible. The Illyrians would pay for Greek imports in foodstuffs, cattle and corn and salt,¹⁸⁸ with all of which the Greeks on the islands were very ill supplied. Indeed, it is unlikely that they can have grown any corn at all.¹⁸⁹ They could produce wine¹⁹⁰ in plenty, and this, together with a

¹⁸⁵ *Fuehrer durch das K.K. Staatsmuseum in S. Donat in Zara*, p. 2 (comparative absence of weapons in graves of Nin).

¹⁸⁶ There are certainly two Corinthian pots of Dalmatian provenience: a middle Corinthian convex pyxis, found in a Roman grave at Salona, according to the Spalato Museum register (in connexion with this information I am indebted to the kindness of the Director, Dr. Abramčić). An aryballos from Issa is now in Zara. There are several mentions of Corinthian pots from Dalmatia in now-defunct Austro-Hungarian periodicals: e.g. *Arch. Epigr. Mitt.* IX, 33, note 5 (an aryballos from Gradina and a jug from Korčula), which sound from the description to be Corinthian (the possibility of their being Ionia-Corinthian is a priori remote). Cf. De Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, II, note 1: 'ses villes étaient Lissa et Meo dont on ne connaît plus que les ruines au milieu desquelles on a trouvé des vases étrusques, des inscriptions et quelques médailles avec la tête de Pallas ayant au revers tantôt une amphore, et tantôt une chèvre.' There are fragments of a very fine Attic crater (? c. 480) in Spalato, and there is a little late bf. in Zara. These are from Nin. A very late bf. cup 'angeblich von Antivari' is now in

Sarajevo (*Bos. Mitt.* XII, 281).

¹⁸⁷ The 'Illyrian' proveniences are listed in Filow, *op. cit.* p. 80, note 2. As to date, Furtwaengler (quoted in *Bos. Mitt.* VI, 149) was of the opinion that the type belonged to the sixth and fifth centuries, hardly to the fourth (cf. *Olympia*, IV, 171, 1029). Schroeder (*AA* 1905, 18) appears to suggest a sixth-century date. The examples from Zeitenlik, near Salonica, published in *Albania*, II, 40 ff., occur in similar contexts; e.g. the presence of the cothons (cf. *JHS* 1911, 74). The cothons in question are type A 2 of Burrows' and Ure's classification) indicates a date c. 500, though the black glaze cups look a little later.

¹⁸⁸ *De Afr. Ant.* 138 (salt and cattle); Strabo, 317 (salt); Pseudo-Scylax, 24 (boats on the Narenta and a 'very fertile island').

¹⁸⁹ The ear of corn on the Kopepatov coins attributed to Black Corecyra (e.g. by Head, *op. cit.* 317, tentatively) tells against the identification; the symbol is hard to reconcile with the known character of the island. (Cf. however, notes 127, 128 of Section II.)

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the fourth-century coinage of Issa (Head, *op. cit.* p. 318).

little trade with the natives and the inevitable gain that came to them from their position on the route to the more prosperous north, was enough to enable them to eke out a meagre existence. They did not start coining before the fourth century. It may be doubted if they ever exported much to Greece, unless it were irises from the Narenta valley, because they could produce nothing with which Greece was not relatively well supplied. They lived on islands with a climate and a flora essentially Mediterranean in character, but which were a degree more stony and less fertile than Greece itself, not to mention Sicily and south Italy. It is probable that the islands were settled in the middle of the sixth century, to serve as ports of call on the way north. The Cnidian settlement on the Black Corcyra was perhaps an early experiment, since, if it was founded in the first quarter of the century,¹⁹¹ it was as early as the beginning of Greek trade with the Po valley. In general, we may suppose that the island settlements grew up on the northern trade route, and that the trade with the Hercegovina followed to some extent incidentally, to make it possible for the little colonies to exist. Trade with the Narenta area is certainly not much earlier than trade with northern Italy.

The names of the settlements have in some cases been preserved, but practically nothing else is known about them, neither the dates of their foundation nor their position. Some of the names mentioned below may be those of fourth-century settlements, but the majority were in all likelihood founded earlier, when the Adriatic trade was more important. If there is no reason to favour any other date, the late sixth century or the early fifth is most probable.

The first Greek port north of Lissus was Bouthoe. It was traditionally connected with Cadmus,¹⁹² but, however distinguished its origin, it was not well known, if at all, in fifth-century Athens.¹⁹³ Yet it must have been more prosperous than most of the Illyrian stations. It stood on an easily defensible headland, with a pleasant plain to the north, on the banks of the stream which runs down from the low and easy hills south of the large and fertile stretch of land now farmed from Tivat on the middle bay of the Bocche di Cattaro. The city could in all probability feed itself. It must have been one of the cities which Pliny¹⁹⁴ referred to in the words 'multorum Graeciae oppidorum deficiens memoria nec non et civitatum validarum.' This remark shows that the coast was once Greek, but that even in Roman times the Greek cities had no history. The hinterland, one of the most difficult in Europe, has so far revealed no traces of early Greek contact.

North of the Bocche the coast rises like a wall for about 50 kilometres. The bay on which Roman Epidaurum stood offers the first reasonable anchorage, and only here does the inhospitable limestone cliff give way to

¹⁹¹ See above, pp. 173, 174 of Section II.

¹⁹² See Appendix I.

¹⁹³ *Erymologicum Magnum* Βουθολη . . . 'Βουθολη Δριλακος ἐντὶ προχωρῶντι ἐκασθῇ': Σοφοκλῆς 'Ονομασθε. This is a geographical error. Budua lies many miles north of the Drin. The fragment is apparently accepted by Liddell and Scott (ed. 7 sub *uolus*; the

new edition does not commit itself), though Mueller has his doubts (*GGM* I, 30 'nescioquinam Sophocles'). Pearson (*Fragments*, III, p. 172) regards it as Alexandrian, but recognises that the legend is fifth-century.

¹⁹⁴ *N.H.* III, 144.

a beach with a plain beyond. The name suggests that there was an older Greek city on the site of the later Roman colony, and the case is clinched by archaeological evidence.¹⁹⁵ But of the date of the foundation nothing is known. The islands north of Epidaurum, the Elaphites and Melite,¹⁹⁶ must always have been quite unimportant, though they may occasionally have been visited by Greek ships and Melite may even have had a few Greek settlers on it. Slaves¹⁹⁷ and ship timber¹⁹⁸ and dogs¹⁹⁹ it may have produced, but it can never have had a very sound economic background. North of the Black Corcyra lay the island Hvar, which was given its name Paros at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century. There was more than one city on it in time of the Second Punic War,²⁰⁰ but as the excellent site of the city Paros, the small modern town of Stari-grad, standing in a fertile plain at the head of a long gulf on the north-west corner of the island, was still occupied by natives in the early fourth century, it seems unlikely that there was any considerable Greek settlement on it before that time. On the other hand, Anchiale,²⁰¹ the unlocated Parian colony in Illyria, may well have been an earlier station, which faded out before the fourth century during the general dislocation and decline occasioned by the Peloponnesian War, and which the Parian venture of the eighties was an effort to replace. The city Heraclea²⁰² may have been one of the fifth- or sixth-century colonies, if, as there is some slight reason to suppose,²⁰³ it was a Corinthian station.

The most important centre of Greek influence in the middle Adriatic was Vis, Issa, the most westerly of the larger Dalmatian islands. There is no traditional date for its foundation,²⁰⁴ but as it was expanding in the early fourth century,²⁰⁵ it was most probably founded during the sixth or fifth. It would be odd if it could spare settlers during the first few years of its life. Greek contacts go back at least to the middle of the sixth

¹⁹⁵ See Patsch in *RE* sub Epidaurum. The earliest contact is a late archaic Heracles, perhaps from a crater. It was found in Popovo Polje, a few miles inland of Ragusa, and is now in the Prince Paul Museum, Belgrad.

¹⁹⁶ Casson, *op. cit.* 315 marks both Melite and the Elaphites as Greek settlements. There is as yet no evidence for this, though I have heard rumours of ancient remains on the island Melite near the church of Sveta Marija.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Tod, *G. H. H. Ins.* no. 79, l. 29. 'The Melite(n)ois or Ἰνῶν) may be a native of Melitene in E. Cappadocia, or of the Illyrian island of Melite . . . or of Malta.'

¹⁹⁸ There is, so far as I know, no evidence for ancient exploitation.

¹⁹⁹ Steph. Byz. Το κωδικὸν Μελιτῆς; Pliny, *N.H.* III, 36, 3.

²⁰⁰ The site of Stari-grad (certainly the city Paros or Pharos, on epigraphic evidence) cannot be reconciled with Polybius' account of Aemilius' campaign against Demetrius in 219 (III, 18). Polybius never refers to the city Paros throughout this passage. I hope to deal with this problem more fully elsewhere.

²⁰¹ Steph. Byz. Ἀγχιάλη . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἰαλιώτης πόλις κτίσμα Παρίου, παρ' ἣ κελίος Ἐνιστηδὼν λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ Σχερίᾳ. The Ἐνιστηδὼν κελίος being otherwise unknown, the clue to localisation lies in the last four words. Σχερία must be Black Corcyra, by a natural confusion; Corcyra is not in a gulf. So the colony Anchiale must be in the Narenta area.

²⁰² There are fourth-century coins, many found on Hvar. Casson, *op. cit.* 318, erroneously says that it is not otherwise known; cf., however, Pseudo-Scyllax, 22.

²⁰³ It is very tentatively suggested by H. T. Wade-Gery in *CAH* III, 521 that the Heracleas (e.g. Lyncestis Strabo 326; in Athamania Strabo 323; in Acarnania Pliny, *N.H.* IV, 5; cf. Caesar, *B.C.* III, 733) in the north-west of Greece and in Illyria may have been Bacchiad foundations. I should doubt if there was any Greek settlement so far north as the Narenta at the time of Bacchiad rule in Corinth, but the colony might have been founded some years after the expulsion of the clan.

²⁰⁴ For a discussion of the modern theory that it was founded by Dionysius of Syracuse, see Appendix III.

²⁰⁵ Dittenberger (3rd ed.), no. 141.

century.²⁰⁶ It was a Syracusan colony,²⁰⁷ but of the circumstances of its foundation nothing is known. It may well have been the indirect result of stasis, as Syracuse was in a most disturbed state for much of the fifth century. There is also some very weak evidence that there was a Syracusan station at Numana on the coast of Picenum.²⁰⁸ Syracusan ships may have done some of the carrying trade, but as the Po valley had roughly the same natural wealth as Sicily, it seems unlikely that there was much trade between the two areas.

In the Hellenistic age Issa had two small mainland settlements as allies. Tragurion and Epetion,²⁰⁹ Trogir and Strobrec, were possible termini of the route that led down from the Lika by way of the later Clissa and Salona,²¹⁰ where there was also a Greek settlement. But they were probably late foundations, as there is little reason to suppose that there was any trade with the Lika before Roman times.

In the early fourth century there was no tradition of hostility between the Greeks and the natives. The Parians were willing to let the natives stay in the island in control of their strong place.²¹¹ But the sequel suggests that the earlier settlers may have met with opposition from the Illyrians.²¹² Yet it may be doubted if it was serious or long-continued. The Greeks came to trade, not to eke out a miserable existence by farming the stones of the islands. As this became clear, the real ground for hostility must have disappeared, and the economic dependence of the islands on the mainland must have forced a compromise. The natives had no reputation for savagery²¹³ before their organisation into a pirate power in the third century by princes who were half-hellenised. Their attitude to strangers in earlier times was exemplary.²¹⁴ So the lot of the Greeks on the trading posts of the Illyrian islands was not as miserable as the record of the Illyrians in the Hellenistic age might lead us to suppose.

Greek trade with the Po valley area began early in the sixth²¹⁵ century as a result of the Phocaeen voyages, but was quite unimportant for a generation. The earliest contact is indicated by the inscription on a Corinthian crater, which was made around about 600.²¹⁶ Omrikos was presumably an Umbrian slave who had been brought to Corinth and called by the name of his race. Rumours about the qualities of the Eneian horses reached Greece about the same time,²¹⁷ and Greek imports began to find their way to north-east Italy during the first quarter of the century. The bronze from Numana,²¹⁸ with the grazing stag and the floral ornament

²⁰⁶ See above, note 186. Cf. also *Bes. Mitt.* XII, 281, fig. 14 (an Attic bf. lektybos of the last quarter of the sixth century).

²⁰⁷ Pseudo-Scymnus, 413-4.

²⁰⁸ See above, notes 133, 134 of Section II.

²⁰⁹ Polybius, XXXII, 18; Strabo, VII, 3, 5.

²¹⁰ *Richters à Salona*, 13.

²¹¹ Diodorus, XV, 14.

²¹² Cf. also Brunnämid, *Die Inschriften und Münzen der Griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, 16, no. 3.

²¹³ I take it that the source of Pseudo-Scymnus, 423 ff. (αρχαῖα βασιλεία παρὰ καὶ εὐδοξέου . . . πλεονεχέου τοῦ αἰσχυρῆτος) is early; at least before c. 235

and perhaps fifth century.

²¹⁴ Pseudo-Scymnus, l.c.

²¹⁵ There is no trace in Ancona Museum of a 'Protocorinthian balsamry' said by Randall-MacIver (*Iron Age*, 127) to have been found at Belmonte. Throughout this section I am very deeply indebted to Mr. T. J. Dunbabin, without whose help it could hardly have been written. But the errors are my own.

²¹⁶ *Necrocorinthia*, 163, no. 1178 (early Middle Corinthian). I am indebted to Mr. A. A. Blakey for pointing out to me the relevance of Omrikos.

²¹⁷ Perhaps a little earlier; cf. note 1.

²¹⁸ Illustrated in *MonAnt* xxxv, pl. 23.

characteristic of East Greek work, must be about this date. It is fitting that this trace of East Greek activity, confirming the literary tradition of the interest of Phocaeans and south Dorians in the Adriatic, should have survived. Otherwise the imports tend to be Corinthian. As they crop up inland, and not at the mouth of the Po, it is natural to suppose that Numana was the port by which they came. There is not a great deal before 550, but Marzabotto has yielded a pot, the site of Felsina one, possibly two, and there is a column-crater of unknown provenience in Venice.²¹⁹ By the last quarter of the century Felsina²²⁰ had begun to import in bulk, Numana was also absorbing a great deal, and there was a definite, if more limited, market among the Picenes inland, at Rapagnano, Belmonte, and Castelletino,²²¹ where both Greek and Etruscan influences are discernible. During the fifth century trade with the Po valley reached its zenith. Its first-class importance is undeniable. The opening of the Etruscan market no doubt contributed to the huge expansion of trade that led to the foundation of Spina and Adria, but there was one other factor of first-class importance that made the establishment of Greek outposts in the Po valley almost a necessity. The Adriatic had become the most important tin route by which the Mediterranean was supplied. Towards the beginning of the sixth century the Phocaeans had opened up the Atlantic to Greek ships, and as long as this tin route proved satisfactory, the Adriatic route, in which they had also interested themselves, remained unimportant. When, however, the Carthaginians succeeded in closing the straits of Gibraltar²²²—that is, probably before the beginning of the fifth century—the Adriatic route, which could tap the supplies in Bohemia, gained suddenly in importance. Bohemia had been exporting tin for some hundreds of years before this,²²³ but there is no evidence that the Mediterranean provided a market for any quantity before the fifth century.

There is little doubt that, with the routes across France²²⁴ from Marseilles to Brittany or Cornwall still unknown, and the sea route closed to Greeks, the Bohemian tin deposits began to be exported southward. Though there is no reason to believe that the Carthaginians withheld the Atlantic tin from the Greeks, and the idea is *a priori* a little unlikely, it is nevertheless probable that the Greeks would try to avoid being dependent on their neighbours' goodwill and having to pay their neighbours' price by exploiting a new supply. By Herodotus' time²²⁵ the route was in full use, and the memory of it lingered on for several centuries.²²⁶

²¹⁹ *Necrocorinthia*, 189 (Marzabotto, Felsina and the Venice column-crater), and no. 1357 (a Late Corinthian I amphoriskos). From Numana, three aryballoi.

²²⁰ *CEI* Italy fasc. V and VII.

²²¹ The finds are at Ancona; the most important are: (1) from Rapagnano, 'a bronze that is clearly Ionic, joined to one that is less certainly Greek, but Ionising' (I owe this information to Mr. T. J. Dunbabin). (2) From Belmonte, apparently the most important inland Picene settlement, a black figure cylix (last quarter sixth century); another, c. 500; a red figure cylix (middle fifth century). (3) From

Castelletino; nothing before 500. There is also a little red figure from Villamagna; and there is a Chalcidian oenochot in Trieste, provenience unknown (Rumpf, p. 136), and another in Ancona.

²²² This happened before Pindar wrote, e.g., *Nem.* IV, 69.

²²³ *Geographical Journal*, 1923, 485.

²²⁴ M. Cary in *JHS* 1924, 166 ff.

²²⁵ Herod. III, 115 (tin and amber are connected in such a way as to leave no doubt that Herodotus thought of them as coming to Greece the same way).

²²⁶ Pseudo-Scymnus, 392-393.

Before the trade in tin developed the Greeks imported luxuries from the northern end of the Adriatic. There is some evidence for the export of slaves from Umbria,²²⁷ and of amber from the north of Europe. There is no means of saying to what the slave trade amounted, but we know that amber was not very important. It began to go out of fashion in Greece some time after 600 and never really regained its popularity until Roman times.²²⁸ So though Baltic amber was reaching the Po valley in considerable quantity and was used freely enough by the Picenes throughout the period of the most intensive Greek activity in the northern Adriatic, there can have been no important trade in amber southwards. The amber trade did not entirely die out, but it had very little economic significance.

The Etruscans no doubt paid for their Attic vases with prisoners of war and the products of their bronze foundries. There may also have been a certain amount of trade in live-stock. The fowls of the Po valley were famous in Hecataeus' ²²⁹ day, and the horses of the Eneti were sent south at least as early as the thirties of the fifth century. In 440 Leon of Sparta won a victory with horses from the Adriatic,²³⁰ and, if they were famous by the beginning of the sixth century, it is unlikely that he was the first man to import them. It has admittedly been questioned if Alcman is referring to the Adriatic Eneti. Yet the case against the Paphlagonian Eneti is very strong. There is impeccable evidence for the export of Adriatic horses to Greece, none for the export of Paphlagonian. Homer's ²³¹ reference to the tribe, if it is a reference to a tribe, is unique, and he does not mention horses. His 'Hemionoi,' being wild, can hardly have been mules in the strict sense of the word, and can be plausibly identified with the 'mules' of the Pseudo-Aristotle,²³² which lived in Cappadocia and were capable of fertile union. Finally it seems doubtful if Alcman's word κέλης could be used of a mule.²³³

The horse trade can obviously have had but slight economic importance, but in the light of the reference in Alcman, a reference in all probability as early as any Greek object found in the Po valley, it is reasonable to suppose that horses were one of the luxuries with which trade with the northern Adriatic began.²³⁴

²²⁷ See note 216.

²²⁸ Cf. *Geographical Journal*, 1925, 482. Prof. Glotz (*Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne*, 150) holds that this was the most important factor in the supposed Greek failure to exploit the Adriatic. The thesis will not stand, as amber was not the only, or the most valuable, commodity obtainable at the northern end of the sea.

²²⁹ *HHG* I, fr. 58; cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* VI, 1.

²³⁰ Polemo in Schol. on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 231.

²³¹ *Iliad*, 2, 851-2. Παφλαγόνων δ' ἦγετο Πύλαωνος λαόν κῆρ ἔξ' ἑντῶν, ὅθεν ἡμίονος γένος ἀγροπάρων.

²³² *De Mir. Anim.* 69. 'Ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ φέρον ἡμίονος ἀπὸν γούριον.

²³³ In *Odyssey* V, 371 it certainly means a horse, know of no case where it definitely means a mule.

²³⁴ Nothing has been said, in this survey of Greek influence in the Po valley, about the Novilara stelae. I have not been able to come to any con-

clusion about their alphabet and date. It should be added that in citing evidence for Greek influence in Picenum, I have no intention of denying the strength of Etruscan; e.g. the graves at Fabriano (*MonAnt* xxxv, 273 ff.) are as Etruscan as many at Numana are Greek; and at Belmonte, neutral in position as compared with Fabriano on the Picene side of the pass to Perugia, and Numana on the sea, not far from Spina, bucchero is more frequent than Attic, and is also imitated in the local black or grey ware. Despite this foreign influence, it is clear that the style of the stelae (*MonAnt* xxxv, pl. 2-8) is Picene, and neither Greek nor Etruscan. The extraordinary vigour of this art is not without relevance to the character of the Picenes and the failure of the Greeks to establish themselves inland. Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* p. 127, greatly exaggerates the strength of East Greek influence at Belmonte when he speaks of the 'strongest possible Greek

Greek trade with Apulia and Messapia can probably be dated about a generation earlier than trade with the coast farther north. It is true that the Protocorinthian in Brindisi Museum is much earlier than anything that has been found in the Po valley, but its presence there is in all likelihood to be connected with an exile movement from Tarentum, the memory of which is perhaps preserved in the legend of Phalanthus, who fled from the city that he had founded and was received with honour by the natives of Brentesion.²³⁵ This accounts for the fact that, with one possible exception, a late Corinthian alabastron of the second quarter of the sixth century, there are no Greek pots there which can be dated to within one hundred and fifty years of the Protocorinthian aryballoi. The late black-figure cup and the red-figure fragments are fifth-century imports, and are to be connected rather with the expansion of Messapian trade with Greece at that time than with the earlier exile movement, which did not turn the native settlement into a Greek polis.

Trade with Apulia began at least towards the end of the third quarter of the seventh century, and it gradually became of fair importance in a limited area. There are a number of Corinthian²³⁶ pots, some Corinthian bronze work,²³⁷ and some East Greek gold work,²³⁸ all probably earlier than 550. They were found in middle Apulia, in what might be roughly described as the hinterland of Bari. Nothing has come to light south of Gioia del Colle, if we except the finds from the immediate neighbourhood of Taranto, and nothing north of Ruvo. North Apulia, the Daunian country, remained impervious to Greek influence,²³⁹ despite the proximity of the South Dorians on the Lago di Salpi. It looks as if the economic basis of their colony was land, not trade. Any traces that they may have left in the neighbourhood of their city may now be under the lake, but farther south, though the bulk of the imports in the sixth century are Corinthian and in the fifth Attic, there are definite indications of Rhodian activity. There is the gold work from Noicattaro, the Rhodian hydria

affinities and connections . . . with the Ionic art of the sixth and fifth centuries.' The small bone and ivory figures, published in *Atenei* xxxv, pl. 24 ff., are most likely Etruscan, as I was kindly informed by Mr. H. G. Payne. The resemblance of the situlae to Rhodian is limited to a common fondness for deer. I know, for instance, of no East Greek parallel for the weird objects (hardly birds) above the antlers and the backs of the animals.

²³⁵ Strabo 282.

²³⁶ *Necrocorinthia*, nos. 1141, 1186, 1199 (from Noicattaro, first quarter sixth century); 1346 from Monte Sannace; 1347, 1402, 1459, from Bari; 1451 (from Noicattaro second quarter of sixth century).

²³⁷ *Necrocorinthia*, 225. The earlier is probably developed Protocorinthian or Transitional, a generation earlier than the pots.

²³⁸ Illustrated in Mayer, *Apulien*, pl. XXIII. It is possible that the beginnings of Greek trade with Apulia go back much earlier than the second half of the seventh century, for, as Mr. T. J. Dunbabin

pointed out to me, there is a Protocorinthian oenochoe in the Czartoryski Museum (no. 1, p. 6 in *CVI*) which must be not far in date below the year 700, and the provenience of which is given as Apulia; cf. also Johansen, p. 89 (subgeometric aryballoi in Bari). If exact proveniences were known, it could mean that the Greeks reached Apulia at much the same time as they were colonising the south of Italy.

²³⁹ Cf., however, a Chalcidian pyxis from Ruvo (Rumpf, no. 197, pl. CLXVIII). Fifth century Attic imports occur, e.g. column crater, z. 480, published in the first fascicule of the Lecce *CVI*, pl. V, 3 and 4; there are a few Corinthian and many Attic pieces in the Jatta Collection at Ruvo. This does not alter the fact that Daunian in general did not import from Greece, as Ruvo (Mayer, *op. cit.* 83) became the centre of Peucetia early in the fifth century. Caution is indicated in accepting the date, owing to the still unsolved problems presented by the chronology of Daunian and Peucetian Geometric. On the Ruvo problem see *BSR* xi, 48.

of the last quarter of the sixth century from Massafra, and a Fikellura oenochoe of the first half of the fifth century from Ceglie di Bari.²⁴⁰ There is an East Greek sherd from Apollonia, a Fikellura oenochoe and a sherd from Adria and East Greek terracottas from Spina. East Greek influence is in all probability traceable on the Tremiti.²⁴¹ The bronzes from Rapagnano and Numana shew the influence of either Phocaeans or Rhodians; that from Numana looks specifically Rhodian. A possible reason why Daunian remained free from Greek influence may be the fact that the local products, for some reason obscure to modern taste, enjoyed a sufficient reputation to be exported: *e.g.* to Cupramarittima and Istria.²⁴² It is strange that in neither district is there any trace of Greek influence. Daunian may have reached Cupramarittima overland, but this is unlikely in the case of Istria. There is no other indication that the Daunians were sailors, but it is hard to believe that the carrying trade in Daunian pots would be done by Rhodians.

Trade with northern and middle Apulia did not develop much in the fifth century. The Attic imports in the Ruvo district are not half so numerous as those in Messapia. But even the finds from Rugge, Lecce and Egnazia are not so impressive as those from the Po valley. The enlargement of the market in the fifth century, such as it was, may have been due as much to the Tarentine expansion and the consequent spread of Greek influence in the heel of the peninsula as to any spontaneous economic growth.

It is, on the whole, likely that corn was exported from Apulia in the fifth century, though the evidence is very far from conclusive. It is as follows. By the beginning of the last quarter of the fourth century the Athenians regarded Apulia as a country from which an assured supply of corn could be imported. Apulia must be the district referred to in the inscription,²⁴³ as the other Adriatic corn area, the Po valley, was at this time in entire confusion. Spina and Adria were far gone in decline, the Gauls were pressing on the work of conquest, the Etruscans were hanging on at some places in the north and the Umbrians in the south.²⁴⁴ It may be doubted if the Po valley could export at this time. There is no direct evidence for corn export from Apulia in the fifth century. The Athenian alliance with the Messapian prince Artas, made some time before the second expedition to Syracuse,²⁴⁵ may have a certain bearing, and there is no other very obvious way in which the Apulians can have paid for their Greek imports. So there is a certain degree of plausibility attaching to the view that Apulia, like Magna Grecia and Sicily, exported perishable goods which have consequently left no trace in Greece. In the particular case of Apulia, corn must have been the most important item.²⁴⁶

A survey of the four Greek trading areas on the Adriatic may have served to throw into relief the fact that there was little or no trade outside

²⁴⁰ I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Dumbabin for bringing the two latter to my notice.

²⁴¹ See Appendix I.

²⁴² Mayer, *op. cit.* 167.

²⁴³ Dittenberger (3rd ed.) no. 303, 11, 55 ff. *ἄνω*

ἢ ἀν' ὁπάρχῃ τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐν τῷ ἀνατολῇ χρόνῳ ἡμετέροις οὐκ αἰσθάνομαι (στ) ἀπομνήστ.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* III, 120; Pseudo-Scylax 16.

²⁴⁵ Thuc. VII, 33, 4.

²⁴⁶ Strabo, 284.

of these areas. The east coast of Italy north of Monte Gargano and south of Numana has produced no evidence of Greek importation. The hinterland has not proved so barren, but it is fairly obvious from a study of other relevant proveniences that the few Greek objects that have been found there, the most important of which is the Amandola lebes,²⁴⁷ passed through Numana. It may not be coincidence that Hecataeus' fragments as preserved in Stephanus do not mention any tribal names between the Peucetians and the Umbrians. The coast was harbourless, the inhabitants vigorous, the subsoil devoid of mineral wealth. It was not polis country. Similarly with the Dalmatian coast north of Salona. The only certain pre-fourth-century Greek imports of ascertained provenience are the fine Attic red-figure vases which have been found at Nin, the Roman Aenona, on the peninsula north of Zara.²⁴⁸ Farther north, Istria seems to be entirely barren of evidence for early Greek contact, and this, too, when the Nesactium civilisation²⁴⁹ presupposes a certain degree of material wealth in the peninsula.

Colonisation in the Adriatic was directed to certain specific ends: silver and tin, possibly corn. Only a desire to secure lines of communication led to settlement where none of these things was to be had, as, for instance, on the coast of Montenegro. Under these circumstances the Greeks never took really firm root on the shores of the Adriatic. Settlements with good land could go on existing until they were destroyed outright. But Greek cities on the Adriatic were dependent on trade, on the hinterland, on the barbarians. The Adriatic coastlands were never fully hellenised.

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APPENDIX I. *Greek Cults in the Adriatic.*

The following enquiry is not intended to be a contribution to comparative religion, but to history. If it could be ascertained at what date and by whom the legends of the Adriatic were hellenised, a great deal of light would be thrown on the question of what cities did most for the Greek expansion north of the straits of Otranto.

Diomedes. The most widespread cult was that of Diomedes. He was connected with Corcyra (Heracleides Ponticus, *de Rebus Publicis*, XXVII, *FHG* II, 220) and Brindisi (Heracleides Ponticus, *l.c.*), the Peucetii (*De Mir. Aus.* 110), Arpi (Strabo, 284; *Aeneid*, XI, 246; Pliny, *N.H.* III, 104), Canusium (Strabo 284; Schol. *Aeneid*, XI, 246), Sipontum (Strabo, 284), Luceria (*De Mir. Aus.* 109), a city near Arpi (Steph. Byz. Διομήδεια), the banks of the Aufidus (Livy, 22, 12; Strabo, 284), Venusia (Schol. *Aeneid*, XI, 246), Venafrum (Schol. *Aeneid*, XI, 246), Beneventum (*Aeneid*, VIII, 9), Equus Tuticus (Servius on *Aeneid*, VIII, 9), Lanuvium (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II, 20), Rome (Plutarch, *Romulus* 2, Dion. Hal. 1, 72), Tarentum (*De Mir. Aus.* 106), Metapontum and Thurii (Polemo in Schol. Pind. *Nem.* X, 12), Spina (Pliny, *N.H.* III, 120), near the Timavon (Strabo, 214 ff.), among the Umbrians (Pseudo-Scylax, 16), with Cape Planka south of Šibenik (Pliny, *N.H.* III, 141), with the city Adria (*Etymologicum Magnum*, sub Ἀρπία), with the Tremuli islands (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* X, 12; Tzetzes ad Lyc. 615 ff.), with a Calauria in Calabria

²⁴⁷ *Necrocorinthia*, 352.

²⁴⁸ Now in Spalato, Zara and Vienna.

²⁴⁹ It is here assumed, though not with entire confidence, that the Nesactium sculptures (see e.g. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa*,

472 ff.) do not show signs of Hellenic influence. The most fundamental question, that of their date, seems, as in the case of the Novilara stelae, to be quite uncertain.

(Schol. *Iliad*, E, 412), with Castrum Minervae (Servius on *Aeneid*, II, 166), among the Eneti (Strabo, 215).

It is apparent from this evidence that the Diomedes legend was most widely spread on the coasts of the Adriatic, but was found also in the interior, on the south coast, and in Rome and Samnium. The north of Apulia has the thickest cluster of stories attached to it.

It is fairly certain that the name Diomedes must conceal that of some native Italian hero, probably connected with horses (cf. the sacrifice of the white horse among the Eneti, Strabo, 215; the strength of the cult in the plains of Apulia, the names Argos Hippiion and Equus Tuticus. The Thracian legend connected him with horses, e.g. Apollodorus, 2, 5, 8). From the historical point of view it is more important to discover when the identification took place than to investigate the characteristics of the native hero. It had certainly been made as early as the middle of the sixth century (Ibycus of Rhegion, quoted in Schol. Pind. *Nem.* X, 12; c. 550: see Bowra, *Gr. Lyric Poetry*, 248). Perhaps a generation before this, Mimnermus sent Diomedes to King Daunus in Apulia (Tzetzes ad Lyc. 614). There was also a poem of the Epic cycle which took Diomedes to Daunus, but which told a different story from that in Mimnermus. This was the source of the late fourth-century *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, 109 (reference to δ ποιητής and use of the words βαθυκόλπους καὶ ἰλκεσιπέλους to describe the dress of the Daunian women make the conclusion that the author's source was a poem of the Epic cycle fairly safe).

The early sixth century is a likely enough time for the origin of the story connecting Diomedes and Apulia. The poets were responsible for it. Diomedes does not seem to have been held in very special reverence by any Greek city. Once localised in Apulia, he was identified with a native hero, whose cult was widespread throughout Italy. Judging from the distribution of the legends, it is tempting to say that the native hero was worshipped by all the inhabitants of Italy except the Etruscans, who were possibly comparative newcomers. The presence of Diomedes on Coreyra must be part of the Greek legend, and Cape Planka can only have been named comparatively late, when the δυνάστης περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν theory had developed (Strabo 215).

The case of the Tremiti Islands is more difficult. Since Dionysius I introduced plane trees into Italy (*N.H.* XII, 7), and they were brought to Sicily later than to the Tremiti (*N.H.* XII, 6), it follows that they must have been growing in the Adriatic area during the fifth century, if not earlier. But they were certainly an exotic (Theophrastus, IX, 7), remarkable as this may seem in the light of the fact that giant planes are now a feature of the Dalmatian coast at Trsteno. They must have been planted on the islands by Greeks and even, to a certain extent, tended. This may be taken to indicate East Greek influence, since the plane was held in honour in Caria (e.g. Herod. 5, 119), but it is by no means certain, since the planes planted by Agamemnon at Delphi, and by Menelaos at Caphyae (Paus. VIII, 23, 4; Pliny, *N.H.* XVI, 23) and Helen's plane tree at Sparta (Theocritus, 18, 43 ff.) must have been also holy. The connexion of the cult of Diomedes and the plane tree near or in his temple (Theophrastus, περὶ τὸ ἱερόν) is indisputable, but nowhere in Greece do we find the hero and the tree linked together. The plane was sacred to Helen in Sparta (Theocritus, *l.c.*), and on Rhodes there was a cult of Helen of the Tree (Paus. III, 19, 9). It is, then, possible that Rhodians in the early sixth century visited the island, found on it the native hero cult, which led them to call the place 'The Island of Diomedes,' and also, less important, the cult of a nymph whom they called Helen, much as Strabo called the goddess of the Eneti 'Argive Hera.' In connexion with the Helen cult, they planted the first plane trees west of Greece. I feel no confidence in this explanation, because no source ever mentions a Helen cult on the island, Helen and Diomedes are not at all a natural pair, and there is some reason to believe that Helen Dendritis on Rhodes was Helen of the Oak, not Helen of the Plane. Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, 360 quotes Ptolemaeus *Nov. Hist.* IV, p. 189 of Westernmann's *Mythographi Graeci*, which suggests that Helen's tree was an oak. But the story in Ptolemaeus is patently not that told in Pausanias. A less complicated solution would be to suppose that the Greeks on the Tremiti introduced the plane merely to make the shrine of Diomedes slightly more homelike and secluded. On this theory the connexion with Rhodes is weaker, though it still seems more likely that east Greeks would acclimatise the plane than, for instance, Corinthians.

The Podalirius Cult. The Heroon of Podalirius on Monte S. Angelo near Manfredonia

is mentioned in Strabo 284. The identification of Strabo's Drion with this southern offshoot of Monte Gargano is made in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, and can be accepted without reserve. We are not on such firm ground over the date of the origin of the cult, but there is reason to suppose that it is at least as old as the fifth century. Pseudo-Scylax 14 calls Monte Gargano Drion (Mss. Ἀπίονος, but the emendation is certain), which shows that the hill and, *pari passu*, the cult of Podalirius, were famous in the fourth century. It is, then, unlikely that the cult only grew up there in the fourth century.

The identification of Podalirius, the hero of healing (*cf. Iliad* II, 833-836; Theopompus fr. III) with the spirit that haunted the stream Althaenus on the slopes of Monte Gargano (*Etymologicum Magnum*, sub *Althaenus*; Tzetzes ad Lyc. 1050-53), was fairly certainly the work of the south Dorians. There are numerous indications of his connexion with the Triopian Promontory; Tzetzes ad Lyc. 1047 records the tradition of his settlement there. In the fourth century Triopian doctors claimed descent from him (Theopompus fr. III); the same tradition made him found a city Syrna on the cape (Steph. Byz. sub voc; *cf. also* Βυβασσός).

The Calchas Cult. Podalirius shared the hill Drion with Calchas (Strabo 284), the hero of the latter being on the top, and of the former lower down by the stream Althaenus. In all probability, the Podalirius cult arrived first, and originally included both oracle and healing. Timaeus in Tzetzes ad Lyc. 1050-53, and Lycophron 1050 ff., the oldest sources, both mention the oracle of Podalirius, Strabo 436 that of Calchas, the method of consulting the oracle being the same in both cases. It is hard to believe that there were two oracles of different heroes with the same way of approach on the hill Drion. The solution may well be that the original Podalirius cult included incubation in the tomb as well as washing in the waters of the Althaenus. As a side-line of the healing cult, oracles were given during incubation. But there was a native Daunian hero, whose name somewhat resembled that of Calchas (Parthenius 12 calls him Calchus; Lycophron 1047 mentions a tomb of Calchas, but still refers to the oracle as that of Podalirius. His Calchas is probably the Daunian hero. Tzetzes, who did not know this, accuses him of inconsistency in the matter of the different places where he put the tombs of Calchas (ad Lyc. 1047). Tzetzes himself, however, seems to have realised that there was more than one Calchas, when (978) he says that the Siris Calchas was not the Thestorid. So the weak authority of Parthenius is not wholly without confirmation), and who was connected with Drion, and, perhaps, with Siris (Tzetzes ad Lyc. 978). As the oracle developed, he was identified with the Thestorid, a famous seer, and the Podalirius cult was deprived of its divination, which was transferred to Calchas, and with the hellenisation of Daunia the memory of the native king was ousted by that of the Greek mantis. This was the case in Strabo's day.

The rite of sleeping on the skin of a victim in the Heroon can be paralleled in Italy, in the grove of Albunea near Tibur (Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII, 81.) as well as in Greece, at Oropus (Paus. I, 34, 5.), so no conclusion can be drawn from it as to the strength of Greek influence in the formation of the cult on Drion.

The Cult of Cadmus. This cult appears on the coasts of Montenegro and Albania. It can be traced as far north as the Bocche di Cattaro (Pseudo-Scylax 25) and as far south as the Acroceraunian Mountains (*e.g.* Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4, 507) and as far east as Lake Ochrida, on which Cadmus was said to have founded Lychnidus (Christodorus, *Anth. Pal.* 697). The story that Cadmus went to Illyria is at least as old as the fifth century, as Euripides (*Bacchae*, 1340 ff.) and possibly Herodotus (IX, 43) and Sophocles (*Etymologicum Magnum*, sub *Bouthois*) were familiar with it. But apart from this, no light is thrown on early Greek enterprise by the legend. The cult was presumably native Illyrian, perhaps peculiar to the widely scattered Ἐγγεῖς who at various times appear to have lived in northern Epirus (Hecataeus, *FHG* I, fr. 73), on the Bocche (Pseudo-Scylax 25), near Apollonia (Steph. Byz. sub Ἀντρέον) and on the Drin (Steph. Byz. *l.c.*). The identification of the local deity with Cadmus was the work of Greeks, but the cult was widely spread in Greece, and no sure conclusion from the identification to the origin of the Greeks who made it can be drawn. In all likelihood the coincidence of a snake cult (*Bacchae*, 1340 ff.) and a ruling family with ancestry that was traditionally foreign (Strabo 327) among one branch of the tribe suggested the identification. The snake cult at Epidaurum (Ragusa Vecchia) which Evans suggested should be connected with the Peloponnesian Asclepius cult (quoted in S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria*, 318) might as easily be native. There is one

clue to indicate what Greeks identified Cadmus with the local hero; cf. Nicander 607, *ἱρὸς ἦν ἱέρως Δριλῶν καὶ Νάρονος δόχθῃ Σιδονίου Κάδμου θεμέλιον Ἀρμονίης τε*. The Corinthians were interested in the Illyrian iris (see notes 174 and 175 of Section III).

The Phaethon Legend and the Eridanus-Po Identification. The version of the story which connected Phaethon with a western river, the Eridanus, and with amber, is as old as Hesiod (Hyginus 154: 'Phaethon, Solis et Clymenes filius . . . prae timore cecidit in flumen Eridanum. Sorores in arbores commutatae, harum lacrimae, ut Hesiodus indicat, in electrum sunt duratae. . . . Cygnus, rex Liguria, qui fuit Phaethonti propinquus, dum dellet propinquum, in cygnum conversus est'). But, as might be expected, the first definite identification of the amber river and the Po was made in the sixth century, by Pherecydes (fr. 33c. This is, I think, confirmed by Hyginus 154: *Hic amnis a Graecis Eridanus dicitur, quem Pherecydes primus vocavit*. This must certainly be the earliest Pherecydes, as the identification must have been made by Aeschylus; cf. the title *Heliades* with frs. 68 and 73, references to Adria, the river or the town. Pherecydes, the first to identify Po and Eridanus, must then be earlier than Aeschylus).

As knowledge of the Po spread, the identification did not stand. Though the poets put the river where they liked, Euripides in his *Phaethon* (*Hermes* xviii, 396) placing it in Ethiopia and in his *Hippolytus* in north Italy, the serious view was that the Eridanus, the amber river, was to be looked for in the north of Europe (Herod. III, 115). This is the view that Herodotus attacks. It is probable that as geographical knowledge extended, the Eridanus was pushed farther and farther away from Greece, in much the same way as Atlantis or the scene of the encounter between Heracles and Geryon. That Eridanus finally became the Greek name of the Po was due partly to the influence of the poets, and partly to the fact that the Greeks in the mass remained ignorant of the existence of the northern rivers, even after the voyage of Pytheas, and tended to doubt their reality.

The Argonaut Legend. Islands in the Quarnero were called Apsyrtes in the latter half of the fourth century (Theopompus, quoted by Pseudo-Scymnus 307), and they cannot well be separated from the version of the Argonaut story that brought the heroes down a mythical tributary of the Danube to the Adriatic. But I am inclined to doubt whether the legend in this form is much earlier than that. The well-informed Scholion on Apollonius Rhodius IV, 284 says that Timagetis was the only writer to give this version, and was the source of Apollonius. The Danube-Adriatic river connexion was mentioned by Aeschylus in the *Prometheus Unbound* (Schol. Ap. Rhod. l.c.), but there is no reason to suppose that he gave the Argonaut story. The date of Timagetis is quite unknown, and the Argonaut legend in one form or another was common property of many Greek cities; in short, no relevant conclusion about date and localisation can be drawn from the Argonaut legend. (See further Appendix II, *Trade Routes*.) It is probable that the legend arose as a result of the coincidence of name between the Danube and Istria, and the presence of a tribe on the Illyrian coast with a name that reminded the Greeks of the Colchians. Pliny's derivation of the word Olcinium from Colcinium shows that the resemblance need not have been very close. Perhaps the legend started from Ulcinj (Olcinium, *N.H.* III, 144) and spread north and south. Colchians were said to have settled near the Ceraunian Mountains (Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV, 507), at Oricus (Pliny, *N.H.* III, 26), on Corcyra and elsewhere (e.g. Pola, Mela II, 57; Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV, 216). There is no need to assume that there is a basis of truth in the Argonaut story.

The Antenor Legend. The hero was connected with the Eneti (Strabo 608; Mela II, 60; Livy I, 1) and with the Black Corcyra (Dictys Cretensis V, 17). The legend grew up round the coincidence of name between the Paphlagonian and the Italian Eneti. Antenor was selected as a suitable hero to lead them (they had lost their own chief Pylamenes), an idea that calls for no special explanation. This form of the Antenor legend is as old as the fifth century, since it can be traced to Sophocles' *Antenoridae* (Eustathius on Homer, 405). The connexion with the Black Corcyra is in all probability later, though it might conceivably have formed part of the Sophocles version of the story. No source mentions it in this version, and Dictys was certainly not following Sophocles. The idea that the Antenor legend contains a basis of truth is very far-fetched. I. C. Thallon, in *AJA* 1924, 47 ff. argues the case and fails to prove more than the Illyrian affinities of the Italian Eneti, which were known to Herodotus V, 9. The Paphlagonian affinities of the Illyrians are highly problematical.

From this survey it is clear that of the seven cults or legends which left the most

outstanding mark on the literary tradition, five have origins that are at least as old as the fifth century, a fact of some relevance for the determination of the date at which Greek influence became strong in the Adriatic.

APPENDIX II. *Hypothetical Overland Trade Routes.*

I. The Hyperborean Offerings. As I shall have occasion to refer to certain details in the text of Herodotus IV, 33, I quote the relevant passage in full:—πολλῶ δὲ τι πλείστον περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱερά ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλῇ πυρῶν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικαίεσθαι εἰς Σκύθος ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθῶν ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἑκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸς ἱερώς ἑκαστῶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην, ἐνθαυτὴν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προσπιπτόμενα πρῶτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιάς κόλπον.

This has the peculiar tantalising flavour for which Herodotus is famous, and it has given rise to a fair amount of discussion. None of the solutions suggested to date is convincing, but since that of C. T. Seltman in *ClQu* 1928, 137 ff. has met with a measure of acceptance (e.g. from Dr. Cary, to whom I am indebted for calling the article to my notice and for pointing out that Herodotus' Hyperborean route can hardly have anything to do with amber, owing to lack of finds from the stations he mentions), I will examine his main thesis, that the offerings came from a mixed Greco-Getic settlement on the Danube, probably somewhere in the plains of Wallachia, and that the western route was discontinued owing to the Celtic invasion, which accounts for its being known to Herodotus in the fifth century, while Pausanias, or as Seltman thinks Phanodemus, gives an eastern route. I regard this theory as utterly incredible. It is obvious that Pausanias' route (I, 31, 2), which runs Hyperboreans, Arimaspians, Issedones, Scythians, Sinope, Attic Prasiae, Delos is (1) mythical, as containing Arimaspians and Issedones; and (2) even if we merely say that the two tribes are inserted 'to push the Hyperboreans farther away' (*op. cit.* 158), the fact remains that Greeks in the Danube valley who wanted to send offerings to Delos would not send them anywhere near Sinope. Seltman says, '... Sinope, a station on the route appears to lie needlessly far to the south-east to call for inclusion. In the fifth and fourth centuries, however, commercial relations between Olbia, Istrus and Sinope must have been especially intimate—a fact deducible from the uniformity of their principal coin-type, a sea-eagle on a dolphin. Accordingly the inclusion of Sinope need occasion no surprise.' But can anyone seriously maintain that it need occasion no surprise when Greeks settled in the Danube valley, wanting to send offerings to Delos, make a detour of upwards of five hundred miles to Sinope, even if they have trade connections there? Of the five stations on Pausanias' route between Delos and the Hyperboreans, two are patently mythical and two are absurd detours on any route from the Danube to Delos.

It may seem that Herodotus' route fits the theory that the offerings came from Wallachia better than that of Pausanias, which, indeed, defies sensible interpretation on any theory of their origin. It would hardly be denied that a Black Sea route would be more convenient than an Adriatic for Greeks in Wallachia, but there might have been a reason which we cannot know now for their choosing the western route. But from what Herodotus says, we can see that the western route is purely mythical too. The route is best approached from the Dodona end. The Dodoneans, says Herodotus, were the first Greeks to receive the offerings. How, then, can they have got to Dodona? They cannot have been sent by sea along the coast south from the Eneiti (Herodotus' words ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους... rather imply that they came by land) up the Vjosë valley via Mesogephyra, as they must in that case have passed through the hands of the Greeks on the Bay of Valona or at Apollonia, and the Dodoneans would not have been the first Greeks to receive them.

For the same reason, they can have come neither by the Via Egnatia, Ochrida, Korça, nor by the Lissus, Drin, Black Drin, Ochrida, Korça route. There remains the possibility that they did not come down any of the western river routes, but kept inland—Korça, Prizrend, Pristina. Now, they cannot have turned left here towards Sarajevo and up the Bosna valley, because of the intolerably difficult country that lies south of it. The natural line of communication would be up the valley of the Ibar to the Morava, and thence to the Danube. In this event, they can never have gone anywhere near the Adriatic sea. This is also true if we suppose, by a stretch of the imagination, that the offerings were sent

across the very difficult passes of South Bosnia and thence up the river to the Danube. Is it really credible that Greeks in the Danube valley would send their offerings over the Peartree Pass to the Adriatic, and that they were then passed back again over the mountains and down the Danube again? The Adriatic in Herodotus' route could only be reached by as huge a detour as Sinope in Pausanias', with the additional futility of covering the same ground twice. It is now clear that the offerings cannot have come from the Wallachian plain. The theory fits neither route; it fits only Callinachus' remark that the offerings consisted of first-fruits of grain (*Hymn. Del.* 283 ff., ἐκρά δ' ἀράματα ἀσταχύν); and corn does grow in many other parts of the world.

The mention of the Adriatic makes nonsense of any route bound for Dodona that does not come from central Europe, if we believe Herodotus when he says that the Greeks of Dodona were the first to handle the offerings. I believe these words to be crucial. The Greeks at Dodona were the first to receive the offerings because they came from Epirus, and not from central or eastern Europe.

This contention is based on the following evidence: to Greeks living when *Iliad* XVI, 233 was written, Dodona seemed very far away. The poet goes out of his way to stress the fact.

Ζεῦ ἀνα Δωδωναίε Πελασγικί, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεθέων δυσχειμέρου . . .

Hesiod fr. 90 (149 Flach), makes this even clearer; Dodona is on the outskirts of the world. This was but natural in the then state of geographical knowledge. Even if Hesiod has heard stories of Italy, Dodona is the northern limit of the Balkan peninsula in his view.

ἔστι τις Ἑλλασπίνη, πολυλήϊος ἡδ' εὐλειμών . . .
. . . ἔνθα δὲ Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' ἑσχάτῃ πεπόλισται . . .

The connexion of Dodona with the Hyperboreans must have been a result of this; the tradition of it is preserved in Schol. A on *Iliad* II, 750 and XVI, 233, where Dodona is said to be χωρίου ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις. Originally the offerings may have been sent by the Pelasgians of Epirus to the great Ionian festival of Delos as homage to a god who had moved south with the majority of his people during the emigrations. But by the fifth century Dodona was no longer the boundary of Epirus, ἐπ' ἑσχάτῃ . . ., and Delos naturally decided to look for a more remote origin for the offerings. The Hyperboreans were by now located on the Danube (Pindar, *Olymp.* 3, 26); a route was invented accordingly, and Herodotus was told about it. The Adria was included because it sounded remote. The route north of Dodona being a fiction, the Delians were unable to have their story corroborated by Greeks. Hence the peculiar fact that the Dodoneans were the first to receive the offerings. It is not improbable that the priests combined to deceive the laity. Dodona, unlike Delphi, Delos, and Olympia, was too remote to have a political axe to grind, and could accordingly devote itself to the furthering of the cause of religion by co-operation with the Delians in a harmless subterfuge designed to heighten the prestige of Apollo.

II. Rumours of Overland Routes between the Black Sea and the Adriatic. The following passages suggest that in the fourth century some Greeks believed that there was an overland route between the Adriatic and the Black Sea.

De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus 104: Λέγεται δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς Μεντορικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰστριανῆς ὁρος τι εἶναι τὸ καλούμενον Δελφίον ἔχον λόφον ὑψηλόν. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόφον ἔσαν ἀναβαίνουσιν οἱ Μέντορες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρίου οἰκοῦντες, ἀποθεωροῦσιν, ὡς εἴκοι, τὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐσπλέοντα πλοῖα. Cf. Pseudo-Scymnus 370 ff., quoting Theopompus.

Livy XL, 21 gives another form of the same story: cupidō cum (Philippum) ceperat in verticem Haemi montis ascendendi, quia vulgare opinionem crediderat, Ponticum simul et Adriaticum mare et Histrum amnem et Alpes conspici posse. Cf. Strabo 313: πρὸς μὲν οὖν τῷ Πόντῳ τὸ Ἀἰμόν ἐστιν ὁρος, μέγιστον τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ὑψηλότατον, μέσην πῶς διακοῦν τὴν Θράκην· ἀφ' οὗ φησι Πολύβιος ἀμφοτέρως καθορᾶσθαι τὰς θαλάττας, οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων. . . . It is clear from what follows that Strabo thought that Polybius meant the Black Sea and the Adriatic by τὰς θαλάττας. Strabo 317 (Theopompus): . . . καὶ ἄλλα οὐ πιστὰ λέγει τὸ τε συντερεῖσθαι τὰ πλάγη, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρίσκεισθαι κέραμον τε Χιον καὶ Θάσιον ἐν τῷ Νάρωνι, καὶ τὸ ἀμφοτέρωθεν καταπίεσθαι τὰ πλάγη ἀπὸ τινος ὄρους. The second half of *De Mirab. Ausc.* 104 is

explicit about the trade route: εἶναι δὲ καὶ τινα τόπων ἐν ταῖς ἀνὰ μέσον διασπῆμασιν εἰς ὃν ἀγορᾶς κοινῆς γινόμενης πωλεῖσθαι παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐμπορέων ἀναβαίνοντων τὰ Λαοβία καὶ Χία καὶ Θάσια, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τοὺς κερκυραϊκοὺς ἀμφορεῖς. Cf. Hesychius, sub κερκυραῖοι ἀμφορεῖς: τὰ Ἀδριανὰ κεράμια.

Finally, the Argonaut story has been taken to indicate the existence of a Danube-Adriatic route.

There is a tendency among recent writers to accept the truth of this legend; e.g. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, 226; Hennig, *Klio* 1935, 247, and, by implication, Thallon in *AJA* 1924, 47-65. There was certainly trade over the Peartree Pass before the fourth century (*Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien*, IX, 1904; Parvan, *Dacia*, 17), but there is no evidence at all for Greek exploitation of the Danube valley from the Adriatic end in the sixth and fifth centuries. It is possible that the artist who cut the tombstone illustrated in *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien* III, pl. XII had seen sixth-century Greek work. But the stele is not sufficiently well preserved to enable one to say definitely. Hoernes (*ibid.* III, 516) wisely calls it a 'vorroemischer Grabstein'; cf. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, 302, who says, 'fragments of a simply sculptured tombstone indicate influence of sixth and fifth century Hellenic art through a Venetic or Etruscan medium.' It was found at Jezerine, a site which, being in the valley of the Una, a southern tributary of the Save, would be most naturally approached over the Peartree Pass. Casson (*op. cit.* 320) says that Greek vases, usually Attic ware of the late fifth century, occur in the graves here and at Sanskimost, between the rivers Urbas and Una, but there is no sign of them in Sarajevo Museum, where the finds from the graves are displayed, and the references to the Bosnian *Mitteilungen* that he gives (III, 180 and VI, 86) shew that he is referring to vases that are probably imported, being distinguishable from the local product by the fact that they are made on a wheel, but are of extremely crude workmanship for all that. Their origin is Italiote; there is not the slightest reason for connecting them with Attica, the clay being pale yellow and the technique immeasurably inferior to that of even the most careless Athenian vase-painter. It should be said that the illustration of the specimen from Sanskimost in *Mitt.* VI, 87 is idealised out of all recognition. But among the many uncertainties that surround this unpleasant piece of pottery, the date cannot be numbered. It is obviously later than 400, the shape being based on that of the cotyle, but swollen to such an extent as to resemble a modified form of the bell-crater. There was a certain amount of Greek trade with the eastern end of the Danube as early as the sixth century, but the evidence points to the conclusion that it went up the Sereth valley to the north rather than along the Danube (Parvan, *Dacia*, 76; a bronze hydria, said to be sixth-century, in the Slovak Carpathians and terracotta imitations of Greek bronze vases at Muhupusztu on the upper Theiss). As far as I know, no Greek object of sixth- or fifth-century date has been found west of Giurgiu (Parvan, *op. cit.* p. 77), about 50 miles west of Odessus, and there does not seem to have been any early settlement farther up the Danube than Barboși, at its junction with the Sereth. There is, in fact, a colossal hiatus both in time and space between the Greek objects that reached the Save or Danube valley from the Adriatic over the Peartree Pass and the ones that came from Istrus and the Greek cities on the Black sea. The archaeological evidence, such as it is, is definitely against the view that the Danube was a Greek trade route in the fifth century.

The supposed feat of the Argonauts may not be a stark impossibility; in fact, Hennig in *Klio* 1935, 247, makes out a fair case for the practice of carrying ships overland from river to river. But in view of the lack of evidence for Greek penetration of the middle Danube area at any early period, I am disposed to doubt if any Greek exploit underlay the story told by Timagetis of the Argonauts. In the particular case of the supposed Danube-Adriatic connexion, there is good reason for doubting the existence of any 'Schleppweg.' An explanation of the rumour that a branch of the Danube flowed into the Adriatic is ready to hand. The coincidence of name between the tribe Istri (e.g. Hecataeus *FHG.* I, fr. 59) and the Ister river suggested the connexion. Furthermore, the Fons Timavus was regarded as the issue of the Danube, or the Save, which rose only thirty miles to the east (References in Semple *op. cit.* p. 30).

The story of the mountain with the extended view does not necessarily indicate the existence of an overland connexion. If there had been one, Greeks might have been better informed about the geography of the northern Balkans, and Theopompus (Pseudo-Scymnus 370 ff.) would not have talked about an isthmus between the Adriatic and the

Euxine. I take this belief to be strong evidence that by the fourth century few, if any, Greeks had penetrated overland from the Black Sea to the Adriatic.

This view involves the rejection of the second half of *De Mirab. Ausc.* 104. On this passage, Casson (*op. cit.* 315) says, 'This . . . , as Evans suggests, indicates an old trans-peninsular trade route by way, probably, of the Danube. It is confirmed to a certain extent by the discovery inland at Janjevo, midway between Scutari and Nish, of silver coins of Paeonia and Thasos and of coins of those places in the Prizrend-Djakova region which lies one stage nearer Albania on the same route.' He adds in a note that a still further extension of this route is indicated by the discovery of a hoard of silver coins of Dyrrachium in the Sereth valley. The coin finds cannot honestly be said to confirm Pseudo-Aristotle. The Paeonian coins are found here because it is the immediate neighbourhood of Paeonia; and the Thasian coins in all probability came up the Vardar to Paeonia, not from Pontus or the Adriatic.

The story in the *De Mirab. Ausc.* does not bear the stamp of truth. If there was a market for Chian, Thasian and Lesbian pottery on the middle Danube—that is, anywhere that could reasonably be reached by merchants from the Adriatic also—the natural route would be up the Vardar-Morava funnel, the southern part of which was in the fourth century rendered all the more attractive by the fact that it lay within the organised kingdom of Macedon. If the words 'from Pontus' are dropped, the idea becomes more credible, though still sufficiently surprising. It might then refer to the Via Egnatia. But it is probably more scientific to reject the whole story out of hand, as being the result of an attempt (by Theopompus?) to prove the case for an isthmus theory of the geography of the north Balkans, than to alter it in the interest of credibility.

Theopompus' story of the presence of sherds in the Narenta valley seemed improbable to Strabo, and it seems so still. It is evident from what Strabo says (*l.c.*) that Theopompus was interested in proving that the Adriatic and the Black Sea or the Aegean were connected, and produced his archaeological evidence to make his case more plausible. This makes the story suspect, as Theopompus was grinding an axe. In any case, even if it were true, it could hardly indicate an important fourth-century trade route up the Narenta, as Casson, *op. cit.* 314, seems to think, because if there had been a trade route, the presence of the sherds could be explained naturally, and could not be used as evidence that there was a subterranean connexion between the two seas. If there is any truth in the story that there are Chian and Thasian sherds in the Narenta, it must indicate an early trade route, which had died out by the time that Theopompus wrote. It is just possible that there was an early route up the Narenta, across Bosnia, and down the Morava-Vardar funnel. This might be taken to account for the Chian and Thasian sherds, as Chios had a colony on the Thracian coast, Maronea (Pseudo-Scymnus 676) which enjoyed no small measure of prosperity in the fifth century. But this route is highly problematical, in view of the fact that there is a singular dearth of finds en route (see Section III on the nature of trade with the Narenta area illustrated by the archaeological evidence).

There is some evidence for the use in pre-Hellenistic times of the Drin valley route from the Adriatic to the Aegean. There is no literary evidence at all, but the existence of the Greek settlement at Lissus (see Section III), and the discovery of the bronze at Gourizi (De Ridder, *op. cit.* 27), the Attic fragments at Vau y Deyes (Ugolini, *op. cit.* 35), the bronze figurine of a running maiden (*British Museum Bronzes*, no. 208) at Prizrend, and finally the Trebenište graves, mark the vital stages of the route, though the hiatus between Trebenište and Prizrend is uncomfortably large. The valley of the Black Drin has so far remained barren of archaic Greek objects, though the Maenad from Tetovo (*Glasnik škopskog naučnog društva*, 1933, 243) near the sources of the Vardar, is further evidence of Greek influence in the neighbourhood. Fresh finds on this route would more likely indicate the exploitation of some valuable product near it, e.g. silver, than the use of it to transport goods from the Adriatic to the Aegean or vice versa direct. It does not lie between two big consuming centres. This is the fundamental objection to belief in any overland route from the Aegean to the Adriatic in the archaic period. Local trade from either end is likely, transport of goods on a large scale from sea to sea wildly improbable.

APPENDIX III. *The Adriatic Enterprise of Dionysius of Syracuse.*

The theory that Greek influence in the Adriatic dates only from the fourth century is not unconnected with the exaggeration of the importance of the work of the first Dionysius. A survey of the evidence may help to put his achievement into perspective.

The first point to be cleared up must be the identification of the colony mentioned in Diodorus XV, 13, 4 and 14, 2. Beloch wrote (*Gr. Gesch.* III. (I), 118, note 2): 'Es wird darum fast allgemein und mit Recht angenommen, dass bei Diodor statt des unübersetzten *Ἰσσοῦ* (13.4.) oder *Ἰσση* (14.2.) Issa zu lesen oder doch zu verstehen ist. Bei der Art wie die Eigennamen in den Handschriften Diodors misshandelt werden, hat das nicht das geringste Bedenken, es wäre Pedanterie, wenn wir hier am Buchstaben kleben wollten.' Since, however, Diodorus is our only source, we must be very certain *a priori* of what happened in the Adriatic in the early fourth century before we are entitled to disregard the double occurrence of lambda in the manuscripts. Other things being equal, this means Lissus rather than Issa.

The case for Issa is argued fully by Evans, in a supplement to the second edition of Freeman's *History of Sicily* (IV, 220). I attempt to answer his most important points below.

1. Diodorus XV, 14 mentions the help sent from the Dionysian colony to the Parians. It is argued that this help would come better from Issa than from Lissus. That is true; but it could have come from Lissus. This point rests on the tacit assumption of what has yet to be proved—namely, that the colony was meant to control the Adriatic.

2. 'Issa was certainly a Syracusan colony.' This is true, but no one says that it was founded by the tyrant, and not every Syracusan colony in the Adriatic was a Dionysian foundation, Ancona being a case in point (Strabo 241). Its coins are likewise no evidence for Dionysian origin. If they are to be dated to the early fourth century (Head, *HN*, 2nd ed., 317), they tell rather against the view, because the tyrant most likely withheld the right of coining from his Sicilian possessions (Holm, *op. cit.* II, 146).

3. 'Lissus lies too far north to be any use for Dionysius' enterprise in Epirus.' This argument tells with double force against Issa, and is not altogether true of Lissus, as I try to show later.

4. 'It is certainly difficult to see with what object Dionysius could have planted a colony at Lissus at all.' His object was that given by Diodorus XV, 13 τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον . . . ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι, discussed below; for the value of the port, cf. Caesar, *B.C.* III, 26. For the value of Lissus itself, cf. Polybius VIII, 15 (the capture of Lissus and Acro-lissus leads to collapse of Illyrian resistance to Philip V).

5. 'Issa is the best station from which to control the central Adriatic.' This argument is circular; we cannot deduce the colonisation of Issa from hypothetical large designs, for which such colonisation would be evidence.

I doubt if Dionysius ever sent a colony to Adria. Theopompus, writing not much more than a generation after the death of the tyrant, knew the tradition, and did not accept it: Τζετζες ad Lyc. 631 ὁ Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι φασίν, ἀπὸ Ἰωνίου Ἰλλυρίου . . . υἱοῦ Ἀδρίου τοῦ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ πέρατος κτίσαντος πόλιν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀδρίαν, ἣν Ἀδρίαν ἑτέροι φασιν ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, τοῦ προτέρου τυράννου Σικελίας, κτισθῆναι. Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* Ἀδρίας: τὸ πέρατος. Διονύσιος Σικελίας τύραννος, ἐξ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ . . . Ὀλυμπίᾳ πόλιν ἐκτίσεν Ἀδρίαν . . . ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ πέρατος Ἀδρίας καλεῖται. The last clause is inconsistent with the idea that Dionysius founded Adria. *Ibid.* Ἀτρία: πόλις Τυρρηνίας, ἱστορεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Διομήδους κτισθῆναι καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι Ἀϊδρία . . . The heading of the first entry cited shows that there was confusion between Adrias the sea and Adria the town. To such confusion, based perhaps on a careless reading of some account of the colony at Lissus on the Adria, the tradition of the Dionysian settlement at Adria is to be attributed. It was really founded more than 100 years before (see Section III). There is positive evidence against the view that Dionysius wanted to control the Adriatic. Ancona was founded by fugitives from his rule. The case of Miltiades and the Chersonese is no parallel, as Miltiades was not an exile, but had been allowed to stay on in Athens in possession of his lands and some political influence (Herod. VI, 35).

The fact that he did not believe that Dionysius took so little interest in the best harbour on the east coast of Italy north of Brindisi caused Beloch (*op. cit.* 119, note 2), courageously and consistently, to reject Strabo. Other solutions appear disingenuous (e.g. *CAH* VI,

p. 129). The choice clearly lies between the rejection of Strabo and the modification of the modern theory that Dionysius wanted to control the whole Adriatic.

There is another minute fragment of evidence in the same sense. When Philistus was banished, he went to the Adriatic (Plutarch, *Dion.* XI). Beloch (*op. cit.* 121) again draws the consistent conclusion, 'Philistus wuerde zum Gouverneur von Adria an der Muendung des Padus genannt.' But this is contrary to all the evidence. Diodorus XV, 7, 3, uses the word ἐφυγάδευσεν and Plutarch *l.c.* ἐξέλασε φυγόντα. Why should the exile go where the writ of the tyrant ran? In parenthesis, I would add that the evidence supposed to connect Philistus and Adria is too weak to merit discussion.

Dionysius, then, founded Lissus, or sent an eparch to control the former inhabitants. The fact that the later coins do not exhibit Syracusan affinities indicates that his hold was not permanent. Perhaps he maintained a few mercenaries there only. His support of the Parians on Hvar (Diodorus XV, 13) may well have been limited to the help sent by the governor of Lissus (XV, 14) who may have acted on personal initiative. As there cannot in all likelihood have been time to consult the tyrant on the propriety of sending help, the fact that the eparch supported Greeks against barbarians is no evidence of the large designs of the tyrant, though he may well have wished to support Greeks against natives on the coast of Illyria.

The primary aim of the Syracusan colony at Lissus was the control of the Ἰόνιος πόρος. To this end he supported the Illyrians of the south, and through them was able to bring pressure to bear on the Epirote Molossians. These Illyrians must have lived inland from the bay of Valona, so their alliance may not have been without effect on the attitude of the Apolloniates. We do not know what measures, if any, he took about Epidamnus. Diodorus may be right that Dionysius designed to advance farther in Greece proper; but even if he did not, his actions are amply to be accounted for by desire for the security of his own possessions in the west. He was moved by the same instinct that prompted Hermocrates to urge the Syracusans to meet the Athenians on the straits, and that prompted the Italians to prevent the Greeks getting control of both sides of the Corfu Channel in the years after the Great War and led them to retain and fortify Saseno after 1920. Dionysius was not the last man to see that control of South Italy must lead to interference on the other side of the water. (Diodorus, XV, 13, Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων Τύραννος ἔγνω κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν πόλεις οἰκίζειν ταῦτο δ' ἐπράσσει διανοούμενος τὸν Ἰόνιον καλούμενον πόρον ἰσχυροποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἠπείρου πλοῦν ἀσφαλῆ κατασκευάσῃ καὶ πόλεις ἔχῃ ἰδίας εἰς τὸ βυνασθαι ναυαὶ καθορμισθῆναι. . . .)

APPENDIX IV. *The Ancient Names of the Adriatic Sea.*

The usual view (see e.g. Patsch in *RE* sub *Adrias*), that ὁ Ἀδρίας in fifth-century authors meant the northern end of the Adriatic, will not stand. It is irreconcilable with three fragments of Hecataeus. Fragment 71 in *FHG* τὸν δ' Ἀῶν Ἀἰντα καλεῖ Ἐκαταῖος καὶ φησὶ . . . ρεῖν . . . τὸν Ἀἰντα πρὸς ἑσπέραν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν. Fragment 69, Ἀβροὶ ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Ἀδρία ταλαντίνων προσεχὲς τοῖς Χελιδονίοις.

In both these Hecataeus refers to the southern part of the sea as ὁ Ἀδρίας. In fr. 61 he refers to 'the Liburnians, a tribe near the innermost part of the Adriatic gulf,' which is clearly an impossible usage if the name was limited to the north. Cf. also Hellanicus, quoted in *Dion. Hal.* I, 28, ἐπὶ Σπινῆτι ποταμῷ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ . . . and Hecataeus fr. 59 Ἰστροὶ ἔθνος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, which prove that Ἰόνιος κόλπος was used of the north end of the sea. In the fourth century the idea was unknown to Pseudo-Scylax (27, 'The Adrias and the Ionius are the same,' and 14, 'A harbour . . . at the mouth of the Adrias or the Ionian gulf') and Isocrates (V, 21).

I believe that the true view is that the south of the sea was originally called Ceraunian, perhaps early in the seventh century; the next name was the Gulf of Cronos and Rhea, but I doubt if this was ever widely used. The name Ionian Gulf may have been in use as early as the others, but was certainly current late in the sixth and during the fifth century. The use of the name Adrias, which was quite interchangeable with Ionios, was certainly not earlier than the sixth century. In the fourth century the two names were both current, though attempts were made to use them in a different way. These attempts were unsuccessful.

This hypothesis covers all the evidence, and is irreconcilable with none of it.

The evidence for the name Ceraunia is weak (Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV, 983), but it is highly probable *a priori* that the Greeks would call the southern part of the Adriatic after the mountains that are the feature of the eastern coast of the entrance of the gulf. It is not so easy to see why the sea was known as the Gulf of Rhea and Cronos, but the usage is attested by Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 836, which shows that it is as old as the first half of the fifth century. It reoccurs in Tzetzes ad Lyc. 631. The legend seems to have been the common property of many Greek cities, of Ionians, Cretans and Arcadians (references in Roscher, sub Rhea), and there is no means of telling why the story was localised on the Adriatic. No clue has survived. There has been a certain amount of discussion as to the origin of the name Ionios, which first occurs in Hecataeus. The idea that the sea was called Ionios owing to the activity of Ionians (see e.g. H. Treidler in *Alto*, 1929, 86 ff.) is unacceptable, because the influence of Ionians in the sea, despite the efforts of Phocaean and perhaps Parians, was not comparable to that of Dorians, Corinthians or Triopians or Aeginetans. Finds of East Greek objects are surprisingly rare and heavily outnumbered by finds of Corinthian. I accept the statement of Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 858, that the sea was called after the nymph or goddess Io, and would suggest the following explanation. Without entering into a discussion of the place of Io among the Olympians, I suggest that Io was a local nymph of Epirus. For she was the daughter of Inachus (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 589, τῆς διατροδινῆτος κόρης τῆς Ἰοναίας), a river, of which Greeks in the fifth century thought as coming off Pindus, Mount Lacom (Hecataeus *HHG* fr. 71, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου τοῦ περὶ Λάκμον μάλλον δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μύχου τὸν τε Ἰναχὺν ρεῖν εἰς Ἄργος πρὸς νότον καὶ τὸν Ἀἰώντα πρὸς ἑσπέραν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν).

This is the country of flocks; sheep, cows and shepherds, and it was so (Hes. fr. 90) in Hesiod's time.

ἔστι τις Ἑλλασπὴ πολυλήϊος ἡδ' εὐλείμων,
ἀφνειή μῆλοισι καὶ εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσιν
... ἔνθα δὲ Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' εσχατιῇ πεπόλισται.

Another piece of evidence in the same sense is furnished by Photius: 'Ρέας πόντος; ὁ βόσπορος ἢ ὅτι καὶ Ἀδρίας καλεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσβάλλοντος ποταμοῦ Ἀδρίου. This illustrates the connexion between the Adriatic and cows. Pindar, *Nem.* IV, 53 may be conscious word play; the link between cows and Dodona and the Ionian sea is definitely suggested: βουβοταὶ τότ' ἡρώες ἐξοχοὶ κατὰ κινταὶ Δωδώνῃσιν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἰόνιον πόντον. From Dodona Io wandered up to the Ionian sea. Her route was down the Vjosë and the Dhryno, the path by which the Vlachs drive their flocks from the uplands of Metzovo, the summer pastures on Lacom, to the hills of Berat and Malakstra. It is probable that the Epirote shepherds of the seventh century did the same. If they met the Euboeans, who came from an island which according to the oldest tradition owed its name to Io (Hes. fr. 47), the identification of the Epirote goddess of the pasturing people with Io, and the naming of the sea after a characteristic of the best known part of its coast, follows fairly naturally. The name spread northwards from the grazing country and had reached Istria by Hecataeus' day (fr. 59).

It is likely that the name Adrias is native Italian, not Greek; it reoccurs inland in Picenum. It was perhaps from the river Adrias (Hecataeus, fr. 58) that the pioneers transferred the name to the sea. This view is supported by two poor authorities (Theopompus 140; Photius *l.c.*), and, more cogently, by the fact that, as the name had spread as far south as Epidamnus by the end of the sixth century (Hecataeus, fr. 69 and 71), it can hardly have been taken from the town, which only began to be important about the same time. It is natural to suppose that both city and sea were named after the river, the most striking feature of the north end of the gulf. In the same way, Spina may have been named after the river on which it stood. As the importance of the city Adria grew during the fifth century, the Adria root began to suggest the city rather than the sea, as is clear from Hippolytus 736. This means that the Ionios name was more general in the fifth century. In the fourth, both names were current (cf. Pseudo-Scylax 14 and 27, Isocrates V, 21) but an attempt was made to systematise the matter by limiting the Adria name to the north and calling the rest the Ionian sea. This may have been the work of Theopompus (cf. Strabo 317). The idea gained a measure of support, as from the sources of Pseudo-Scymnus 369 and Dionysius the Perihegete 380, but failed to make any impression on most later writers; e.g. Polybius and Appian use both forms indifferently.



FIG. 1.—CUP IN BOWDOIN COLLEGE (NO. 10).

RED FIGURE CUPS WITH INCISED AND STAMPED DECORATION I

[PLATES XI, XII, XIII.]

AMONG the simpler and cheaper types of pottery in common use in the fifth century B.C. and later, one of the most attractive is the black-glaze ware decorated with incised and stamped patterns. A certain quantity of this has been found in undisturbed single burials or in other contexts which provide external evidence for its dating and development, notably in Sicily and South Russia, at Rhitsona in Boeotia and more recently in the Agora at Athens.¹ Further and still more reliable evidence is to be found in the series of vases, mainly cups, in which similar incised or stamped patterns are found combined on one and the same pot with red-figure painting. The use of incision and stamping in the interior of the cups instead of the normal painted medallion no doubt made for cheapness, and the red-figure work is never of a very high standard. Nevertheless, some of the fifth-century examples have sufficient merit to be looked at for their own sake, while the combination of the two styles gives a useful equation.

I propose to deal here with a series of twenty-five kylikes standing on a low ring foot.² Inside, instead of the usual red-figure medallion, there is an incised pattern done with ruler and compasses and sometimes accom-

¹ The most recent and the fullest publication of ware of this type is Miss Talcott's *Attic Black-glazed Stamped Ware*, *Hesperia*, IV, 477 f.

² For photographs (some of them supplied many years ago) and for permission to publish them I am much indebted to present or past directors of the following Museums—Athens, Basel, Boston, Bowdoin College, British Museum, Florence, Leningrad, Louvre, Naples, New York, and the Österreichisches Museum, Vienna. I have to thank Professor Van

Buren for most valuable help in obtaining photographs in Italy. Miss Talcott has most kindly given me much information and has supplied the photographs for Fig. 17 and Pl. XIII, 4. I am particularly indebted to Signor Michele Jatta for most kindly giving me facilities for working in his collection at Ruvo and for allowing me to publish photographs of his vases. Above all, I should like to record my warm thanks to Professor Beazley for his most generous help: in particular I owe entirely to him my knowledge of nos. 6 and 10.

panied by stamped motives. The cups are broad and shallow, with an average diameter of roughly 0.20 metre. Inside there is a rim to a depth of about 0.03 metre; three examples only (nos. 2, 4, and 13) have a corresponding rim on the outside. The vases are arranged in groups according to the character of the incised decoration.

The first two have an eight-rayed star placed over a large rosette with sixteen petals, the whole being set over groups of concentric circles.

(1) Paris, Louvre, G637. Pottier *Vases Antiques*, 3rd series, pl. 159 (side A). A. Boar facing youth armed with sword and spear. B. Similar, with positions reversed, the youth now armed with stone and club. Pl. XI, 1. Int. Fig. 2.

(2) London, British Museum E127. Beazley *AV* p. 328, Karlsruhe Painter no. 32. A. Standing king and running woman, Pl. XI, 2. B. Man pursuing queen. Int. Fig. 3.

(3) Syracuse 23640, from Camarina. Fragment. Orsi *MonAnt* XIV, 913, fig. 109; Beazley *AV* 320, Amymon Painter no. 14. Woman advancing with shield and spear. Int. Part of the outer edge of a pattern similar to that of 1 and 2.

The following have stars with a larger number of rays more closely set, and the introduction of little arcs, first round the inner side (e.g. Fig. 4) and then on both sides (e.g. Fig. 8) of an inner group of concentric circles, produces the effect of a double rosette. To this double rosette the star ultimately becomes subordinate.

(4) Naples 2628 (Heydemann). *AM* 1928, Beil. VI, 1; Heydemann, *Humoristische Vasenbilder aus Unteritalien*, Taf. No. 3 a and b. A. Goat facing crawling silen. B. Crawling silen facing bull. Int. Fig. 4.

(5) Leningrad, Hermitage 2262. *AM* 1928, Beil. V, 2. A and B. Silen pursuing maenad. Int. Fig. 5.

(6) Basel, Historisches Museum 1921. 376. A and B. Bearded horseman to left wearing chiton and cuirass and holding his spear in his right hand poised at shoulder level. Int. Fig. 6.

(7) Naples 2625 (Heydemann). A and B. Youthful horseman to left wearing a chlamys and with a petasos hanging from his neck. He holds his spear at rest in his left hand, rather encumbered with his cloak. Int. Fig. 7.

(8) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13. 203. Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, p. 208. A. Similar to preceding, but the horseman faces right and holds his spear in his right hand well drawn back, low and ready to thrust; he has no petasos. B. Bearded horseman in chlamys, petasos and leggings; he holds his spear poised at shoulder level. Int. Fig. 8.

(9) London, British Museum E125. A. Silen with kantharos and thyrsos rests on an ivy-covered hillock leaning against a wine-jar; before him stands a lyre-player; behind her a tree. Pl. XI, 3. B. Maenad with thyrsos retreating before a capering silen. Pl. XI, 4. Int. Fig. 9.

In the three following the tiny central rosette which was present in 1 and 5 has developed into a more important member with a small star of its own, the whole pattern now resembling a triple rosette.

(10) Bowdoin College. A. Youthful horseman in chlamys and petasos to left, his spear in his right hand, poised to throw, Fig. 1. B. Similar, but the spear is held at rest in the left hand as on no. 7. Int. Fig. 10.

(11) Florence 3968. A and B. Two youths in himatia, one with a staff. Int. Fig. 11.

(12) Florence 3925. A and B. Two youths in himatia, one with a staff. Int. Fig. 12.

The last example of this group is odd in having a rosette of two distinct



FIG. 2.—LOUVRE G697 (NO. 1).



FIG. 5.—HERMITAGE 2262 (NO. 5).



FIG. 3.—B.M. E127 (NO. 2).



FIG. 6.—BABEL 1921.376 (NO. 6).



FIG. 4.—NAPLES 2628 (NO. 4).

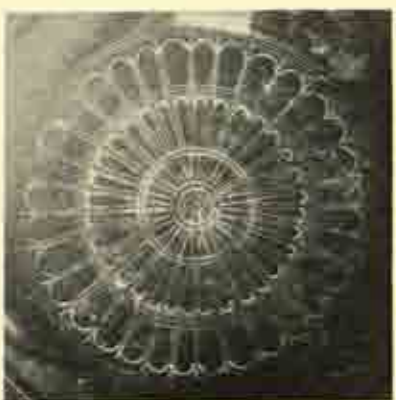


FIG. 7.—NAPLES 2625 (NO. 7).

zones in each of which are short squat rays which do not pass beyond their own zone.

[13] Florence 3928. A. Combat of two warriors each with a snake as shield-device. B. Combat between a youth wearing chlamys and pilos and armed with a spear, his chlamys serving as a shield, and a bearded man in short chiton and chlamys and armed with sword and spear. Int. Fig. 13.

When one examines the cups as a whole, taking into consideration the rf. decoration, both figures and ornament, and details such as the circles on the base and the make of the footring, it will be seen that the thirteen form a fairly homogeneous class, but that it subdivides into two groups which correspond in the main with the division according to the incised patterns. Of the first small group of three cups with stars of widely spaced rays, the London cup (2) is the work of the Karlsruhe Painter³ and the fragment from Camarina (3) is by the Amymon Painter.⁴ The Louvre cup (1), though not by either of these painters, belongs to the same period. The last cup (13), which was placed by itself because of its peculiar incised rosette, goes with the Louvre cup, though not necessarily painted by the same hand. In the handle ornament these last two vases have common features which differ from the normal (including the absence of the lotus), the figures are not dissimilar in style, and the decoration of the bases is identical, both having an unusually narrow moulded ring.

Nos. 4 to 12 can be regarded as a single group, since their incised decoration is of the same general type, whether the rosette is double or triple. In red-figure decoration also they stand together. The Hermitage cup (5) and the Naples cup with the silen and goat (4) have been attributed by Miss Peredolski to the Sotades Painter.⁵ They certainly belong to the Sotadean school. The group of horseman kylikes (6, 7, 8, 10), all by one hand, are also in the Sotadean tradition. The two Florence cups with youths (11 and 12) are not far from the horseman kylikes in their painted decoration. It should be noted that the decoration underneath the Florence cups is different from the normal, the slightly concave black moulded ring which is present on all the other cups of the group (4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10) being replaced by one that is broad and cushiony. Nevertheless the incised patterns inside the Bowdoin horseman cup and Florence 3968 (Figs. 10 and 11) are as near to duplicating one another as any we have, thus confirming the impression of kinship made by the red-figure scenes.

This group of thirteen cups with star patterns inside is therefore to be dated in the period of the Karlsruhe and Amymon Painters and of the Sotades Painter—that is to say, about the middle of the fifth century. There is great variety in the incised designs, which shew a progressive development of the ray pattern from the simple star of nos. 1 to 3 (Figs. 2 and 3) to the tongue rosette with the star still present, but playing a very subordinate rôle, that we see on 8 and 9 (Figs. 8 and 9). But this need not indicate the lapse of more than a few years. In this early and experimental stage of incising development would be rapid. The latest vase of the group

³ Beazley *AF* 328, no. 32.

⁴ *Id.* 320, no. 14.

⁵ *AM* 1928, 11, 12.



FIG. 8.—BORRIN 13,203 (NO. 8).



FIG. 11.—FLORENCE 3968 (NO. 11).



FIG. 9.—B.M. E125 (NO. 9).



FIG. 12.—FLORENCE 3925 (NO. 12).

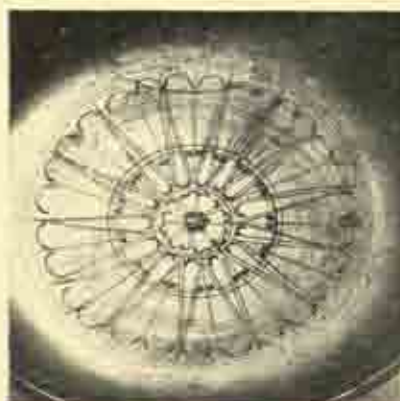


FIG. 10.—BOWDOIN COLLEGE (NO. 10).



FIG. 13.—FLORENCE 3928 (NO. 13).

is probably the British Museum cup with the resting silen (9), where the incised pattern has developed almost completely into the tongue rosette which later becomes stereotyped. But though the painted ornament seems to be one stage later than that of the horseman kylikes, this vase too seems not to be far from the Sotadean tradition. It is probable that the whole "star" group can be covered by about fifteen years—say 455 to 440 B.C.

In the remaining examples the star element is not present. We have now a group of nine cups with rosettes of the type anticipated in no. 9 (Fig. 9), *i.e.* a central rosette surrounded by one or two zones of tongues. The central member may consist of a small zone of tongues placed round an empty circle as in Fig. 14, or it may take the form of a genuine rosette with petals radiating from a central point, as in the central part of Fig. 17.^{5a} The average diameter of the cups is between 0.18 and 0.19 metre.

(14) New York, Metropolitan Museum 17.230.111. A. Paidotribes facing athlete with strigil; hanging up behind the paidotribes is an aryballos, Pl. XII, 1. B. Two athletes with strigils standing between a pair of stelai. Int. Two zones of tongues with an empty zone between, Fig. 14.

(15) Ruvo, Jatta 325. A. Nike holds out a wreath to an athlete with a long staff (or two staves?); on the right hangs an aryballos, Pl. XII, 2. B. Similar, but there is a stela between the figures and no aryballos. Int. As 14 (Fig. 14).

(16) Ruvo, Jatta 1100. A. Two youths in himatia, the right-hand figure holding a strigil. B. Similar, but the left-hand youth has a staff and there is no strigil. Int. As 14 and 15 except that the central rosette is of the type shown in Fig. 17.

(17) Ruvo, Jatta 1390. A. Combat of warrior and Amazon armed with sword and shield, Pl. XII, 3. B. Amazon armed with bow shoots at youth who attacks her with a spear; he wears chiton and pilos and uses a cloak (or skin?) as a shield, Pl. XII, 4. Int. As 14 except that there are three zones of tongues and no empty zone.

(18) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. *JHS* 1921, pl. XII, bibliography p. 230. A. Apollo, head of Orpheus uttering oracles, youth with tablets taking them down. B. Two Muses, one with taenia, one with lyre. Int. Central rosette and one zone of tongues, *i.e.* as Fig. 15 omitting the zone of stamps.

In the four following cups stamped patterns are introduced.

(19) Ruvo, Jatta 1346. For bibliography see Jatta, *Catalogo*, p. 640. A. Poseidon pursuing Amymon, Pl. XIII, 1. B. Poseidon thrusting his trident into a tall ivy-covered rock to get water for Amymon, Pl. XIII, 2. Int. Between the central rosette and outer zone of tongues is a zone of stamps—outside, small ovules, and within them thirty-two stamped palmettes resting upon a row of circles rather inaccurately made by using a semicircular stamp intended for making the curved tips of tongues, Fig. 15.

(20) Ruvo, Jatta 1158. Minervini, *Bull. Arch. Nap.* new series, v. 179 f., pl. 12, no. 2. A. A woman hands a wreath to a pugilist. B. Athlete with halteres faces trainer. Int. As Fig. 15, but in the middle zone there are thirty-one palmettes standing separately without the connecting circles and without the ovules.

(21) Ruvo, Jatta 1300. A. Two athletes each holding a strigil; in the field between them an aryballos.⁶ B. Athlete facing youth in himation who hands him a wreath. Int. As preceding, but the middle zone contains twenty-one stamped palmettes linked by arcs.

(22) Paris, Louvre G638. Pottier *Vases Antiques*, III, pl. 159. A. Bald bearded man pursuing woman; behind him in the field a round object. B. Youth pursuing woman. Int. Fig. 16.

^{5a} Unfortunately Fig. 17 does not clearly shew the centre of the rosette. The petals converge on a central point much as those of *Heperia* IV, 483.

Fig. 6, no. 98.

⁶ Described by Jatta *Catalogo* p. 629, as a ball with which the youth on the right is playing.

In the nine cups just listed we have nothing like the originality that characterised the designs of the earlier group. The pattern has settled down to a mere rosette of tongues, occasionally enlivened by a middle zone of stamped palmettes. The only cup which shews a pattern of any interest is the Ruvo Amymon cup, which has in its middle zone both ovules and palmettes, and is unique, as far as my knowledge goes, in making the palmettes rest on circles, instead of linking them by the familiar arcs. On the whole the patterns are dull, the craftsman has given up experimenting and is bored, and the stamp, so easily impressed, is ousting the more laborious method of incision.

From the point of view of the painted decoration the most interesting group is again the Ruvo Amymon cup with two others from the same hand, the Corpus Orpheus cup and the Ruvo cup with athletes (19, 18, 20). One cannot take very seriously these pretty little people with their disarmingly childish proportions, and, though the execution is careless, the pictures have considerable charm. Their style would seem to date them about the middle of the last quarter of the fifth century. To the same period belong a pair of cups in a different style: the New York cup (14) and Ruvo 325 (15), both by the same hand. The others (16, 17, 21, 22) are very poor. All fall within the last quarter of the century, the Ruvo cup with combat of Greek and Amazon (17) near the beginning of that period, and the Louvre cup (22) right at the end.

Between these two well-marked groups, that of the middle of the century and that of the last quarter, there is a gap of something like twenty years. There is no transitional group to carry on from one to the other. Perhaps the mixed style went temporarily out of fashion. There are, however, three isolated examples, all differing in some respects from the normal, which fall within this intervening period and help to bridge the gap.

(23) Ruvo, Jatta 1250. A. Two youths with sticks advancing rapidly in opposite directions. Apparently they have just passed each other. One holds a kotyle which the other seems to have filled from his jug in passing, Pl. XIII, 3. B. Two similar figures; one holds out his jug to pour into the kotyle held by the other. Int. Two zones of tongues surrounding a rosette of the type seen on Fig. 17.

This cup is of a different make from those hitherto listed. The fabric is thinner and the general appearance more metallic. The foot ring is thin and black all over, the base moulded and all black except a reserved band round the edge. The handles are thinner than normal, black all round, and there is no space left reserved beneath them, as is normally the case. There are palmettes instead of tendrils and lotus on each side of the handles.

The closest parallels for our vase are to be found among the works of the Euaion Painter. The subject, the short cloaks worn loosely over the arms, the treatment of hair and of anatomical details can all be paralleled in vases from his hand. The handle ornament is very like his, with the addition of an extra spiral on each side, and with the difference that the central leaf of the side palmettes is veined and cuts through the surrounding tendril. I suggest that our cup was made by a pupil of the Euaion Painter⁷ working about 440 B.C. or a little later.

(24) Athens 1573, Collignon and Couve, 1217, pl. XLIV. A. In the centre a woman

⁷ Professor Beazley confirms this. He tells me that New York, nos. 8 and 9, *AV* 360, it is by the same hand as cups in the Vatican and in

closely wrapped in a himation has risen from her chair and holds out her hand towards an Eros who has just taken a small object from a jewel-case open in his hand, probably a ring, as her finger is extended; behind her chair another Eros holds out a wreath, Pl. XIII, 4. B. Lower part of draped woman seated on a rock, upper part missing; in front of her a flying Eros holds out a wreath; behind her is another flying Eros, his hands and part of his arms missing. Int. Between a central rosette and outer zone of tongues a zone of twenty linked palmettes, Fig. 17.

Like the last this cup has a thin light footring and handles black all over. The moulded base is entirely black. It has already been dated by Miss Talcott about 430 B.C.*

[25] Naples, Heydemann 2642. A. Apollo with lyre holds out phiale to Artemis who stands facing him with an oenochoe; between them a fawn. B. Demeter with a torch in each hand faces Persephone, who holds a sceptre in her left. Int. A circle of stamped ovules with ivy leaves and clusters of berries springing from it, Fig. 18.

There is no handle ornament, and the whole of the vase, including base and footring, is black, except for the figures and the reserved ground line. The vase is a good one, but in poor condition. Professor Beazley tells me it is probably by the Calliope Painter, who was working about 440-420 B.C.

Three fragments remain to be mentioned, though they do not, strictly speaking, belong to the series dealt with here. The incised pattern is confined to a simple zone surrounding a *rf.* medallion in the inside of the cup. Two shew part of a medallion with a symposium, around it a zone of incised tongues: one is in Syracuse, from Camarina, shewing only the leg of a table and a little drapery; the other is from the Agora at Athens.⁹ The third, also from the Agora,¹⁰ has a dancing Eros in a medallion bordered by incised eggs set endwise, dated by Miss Talcott about 430 B.C.

A mere two dozen cups provide scanty material from which to deduce the lines of development of a style through the course of half a century. Such evidence as they offer may perhaps warrant the following conclusions. The practice of incising patterns instead of painting figure medallions inside *rf.* cups started a little before the middle of the fifth century. The pattern took the form of a star-rosette drawn and ornamented as fancy dictated. The experimental use of tiny arcs at the base of the star rays and fringing the circles that intersect them produced patterns analogous to the simple tongue pattern that was already familiar on metal work. By about 440 the rosette of simple tongues was adopted, and the star element disappeared (no. 9, the latest example of the star, and no. 23, the earliest of the tongue rosettes). By about 430 we have the first appearance of stamped motives among the tongues (no. 24). In the last quarter of the century we find a monotonous series of tongue rosettes, the tongues long and narrow and often very carelessly made, and sometimes accompanied by a zone of stamped palmettes. There is no example of a *rf.* stemless kylix with an incised rosette later than the end of the century.¹¹ The cup-kotylai with stamped patterns, which begin in the last quarter of the fifth century and continue some way into the fourth, will be dealt with in a later paper.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions will be confirmed when a complete study is made of the plain black ware with this type of decoration. I do not know whether there are any plain black kylikes with incisions earlier than the earliest of the *rf.* incised cups. It is true that Miss

* *Hesperia* IV, 484.

⁹ Recently found and not yet published.

¹⁰ *Hesperia* IV, 489, fig. 11.

¹¹ A possible exception may be the Louvre cup, no. 22 above, but I am inclined to think it need not be later than the turn of the century.



FIG. 14.—METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.
17.230.111 (NO. 14).



FIG. 17.—ATHENS 1575 (NO. 24).



FIG. 15.—JATTA 1346 (NO. 19).



FIG. 18.—NAPLES 2642 (NO. 25).



FIG. 16.—LOUVRE G638 (NO. 22).



FIG. 19.—VIENNA, OEST. MUS. 444.

Talcott for her earliest fragment (no. 95, *Hesperia*, IV, 482, fig. 5) suggests the possibility of a date before 450. I should be inclined rather to put it a little later. The star-rosette which is characteristic of the beginning of the style on rf. vases is certainly rare on black ware. I know of only two examples,¹² a very small number to set against the thirteen rf. specimens. They are both in Syracuse, one of them published in *MonAnt* XIV, 919, fig. 117. Both come from the cemetery of Passo Marinaro, Camarina, which does not appear to have been used earlier than the resettlement of Camarina in 461. It also contains very few vases belonging to the period 461-450.¹³ This accords well with our mid-fifth century dating for this pattern on red-figure ware.

But though star patterns are unusual on black kylikes, tongue rosettes are very common. Isolated examples have been found scattered all over the Greek world from South Russia to Southern France, and they have been found in some quantity in Orsi's excavations at Camarina and in the Agora at Athens. Many of these shew more interesting and richer patterns than those found on the rf. cups. Where the stamped and incised pattern was the only decoration of the vase, the maker took more interest in it than when it was merely subsidiary ornament on a painted vase. This is true also of the rather unusual ivy pattern that we have on the Naples cup with Apollo and Artemis (25; fig. 18). There are two examples of a similar ivy wreath on black cups,¹⁴ one in the British Museum and one (fig. 19) in Vienna. On both of these the patterns are more elaborate than on our cup and the work is finer; the berries are marked with incisions and the ivy leaves veined. The Naples cup is a poor and sketchy piece of work compared with them. The corresponding superiority of the rosette and tongue pattern on black cups is well seen by comparing the Agora examples figured in *Hesperia* IV, 482-483, with ours. There we have the incised rosette and tongue pattern, or separate elements of it, combined with stamped palmettes and eggs in a number of different ways. Our plain tongue rosette, unembellished with stamps, appears much less frequently among the Agora finds.

Another interesting point emerges from a comparison of the Agora material with ours. I have shewn that in the red-figure series as we have it there is a well-represented mid-fifth-century group and a fairly numerous group from the last quarter of the century, but that there is a gap in the third quarter of the century to which period we can assign only three isolated cups. But the decade 440 to 430 is precisely the period which Miss Talcott regards as the time of great prosperity of the impressed style.¹⁵ Our mid-fifth-century type—the star rosette—does not occur there, and that of the last quarter (our nos. 14 to 22) is represented by only one example (108; fig. 5, p. 482), while for the third quarter of the century the

¹² Jacopi, *Gara Rhodos*, III, 267 has a grave (Sep. CCXLIX) furnished with two black kylikes with incised patterns, one of which has in the centre a 'stella a impressione,' but only the outside of the cup is figured (fig. 255). It is unlikely that the star is one of our type.

¹³ Orsi, *MonAnt* XIV, 952.

¹⁴ Since writing this I have heard from Professor Beazley of a third example in Rhodes, no. 10777 from Ialyssos. Here also the pattern is richer than ours, having three zones of ivy wreaths, the leaves veined.

¹⁵ *Hesperia* IV, 487.

Agora material is abundant.¹⁶ It seems strange that the rf. painters should abandon the practice just when it attained the height of its popularity, and return to it when it began to decline. Possibly it was a question of taste. They may have felt that the exuberant and crowded patterns of the day were inappropriate to the comparatively austere style of the red-figure work. They adopted them again at a period when impressed patterns had lost their exuberance and red figure its austerity.

Reading.

ANNIE D. URE.

¹⁶ *Hesperia* IV, 491.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN SICILY AND MAGNA GRAECIA

REVIEWING the recent archaeological discoveries in the areas where the ancient Greek colonies of Italy flourished, I shall divide them, so as to facilitate the finding of the places on the modern map, according to the present Italian regions. These correspond more or less to the old Roman divisions, excepting Lucania, the western part of which (Paestum, Velia) now belongs to Campania.

SICILY

Sicily suffered a great loss last year in the death of Paolo Orsi, to whom we owe the revelation of Siculan civilisation and an incalculable number of discoveries in the Greek centres of the island and of Magna Graecia.¹ After his death lack of funds interrupted the work he had so happily initiated of liberating the temple of Apollo in Ortygia. Of this old Sicilian temple (seventh century B.C.) there was brought to light during 1933-34, by the demolition of the sixteenth-century Spanish barracks, the southern wall of the cella, still 6 and 7 m. high, and built with orthostates.

Amongst the accidental discoveries made during the last two years in Syracuse in the course of road-making and house-building, the most important remains found are those of a complicated thermal edifice, which the superintendent, Prof. Cultrera, thinks can be identified with the Daphne baths where in the year 668 the Emperor Constantius II was killed. In the vicinity, in fact, the Byzantine ring with enamel decoration, now in Palermo and attributed to that Emperor, was found.

West of Syracuse, at the foot of Mount Saraceno near Ravanusa, where some ruins were visible (*NSc* 1928), Prof. Mingazzini undertook a short campaign (during July 1935), following the discovery of blocks with stucco and polychrome decoration. The excavation is bringing to light other similar blocks, but not the edifice to which they belonged, as the material had been utilised in the building of a tower of the city wall. The blocks, which judging by the decoration Prof. Mingazzini, to whom I owe this information, ascribes to the middle of the fourth century B.C., must have belonged to a small funeral shrine; the architrave is 2 m. in length. The triglyphs are blue, the spaces between the mutuli red: on the bend of the sima there is a frieze of palmettes and lotus flowers between a Lesbian kymation on the top and Doric moulding, underneath: all with blue, red, and brown colouring. A *βουστροφηδόν* inscription mentioning a certain *Σόκων* in letters of the first half of the fifth century B.C. has also been discovered. The block with the inscription is of local sandstone, like others found, which proves that the city, the name of which

¹ His vast work has been studied in the volume *Calabria e la Lucania*, Roma, 1935, with the *ragionata* bibliography of the great archaeologist.

we do not know, was Greek. A stairway in the rock has also been unearthed: it reaches a spring like the one that goes to the Perseia spring at Mycenae and the Klepsydra one at Athens. Lastly a small sacred edifice has been discovered (15×8 m.), and in the interior little terra-cotta heads. Given its orientation, it is more probably a treasure than a temple; the excavation is not yet completed.

Continuing to the west, at Palma Montechiaro, near a spring of water, an accidental discovery of great importance was made in 1934: a sacred *favissa* containing archaic material of the sixth century B.C., pottery, terra-cottas, and, most interesting of all, three wooden statuettes of angular primitive type, well-preserved *xoana*. The material, now in the Syracuse Museum, awaits publication. At Agrigentum (where the temple of Hera and its altar, the temple of Concord, and the group of monuments round San Biagio, which was in danger of sliding downhill, have been duly consolidated), during the summer of 1934 a brief campaign on the area of the temple of Jupiter was conducted by Prof. Cultrera. It brought to light the foundations (all that now exists) of the great altar and the remains of the two Telamones, found *in situ* in correspondence to the second and third intercolumniation respectively near the south-east angle of the gigantic edifice.

An accidental discovery at Agrigentum is of a hypogeum near S. Nicola, almost square in shape and measuring 400 sq. m., with its ceiling supported by forty-nine pilasters cut out in the rock.

Excavations have also been made during 1935 at Selinus. A large area of the Acropolis north of temple D has been uncovered, together with a long stretch of the second transversal road. But Prof. Cultrera thinks that for profitable results it would be necessary to raise at least part of the enormous quantity of column-drums and of entablature fragments heaped together along the north side of temple D, which obstructs the avenues of research.

Not far from Selinus, at Torre Bigini, during the making of a new aqueduct a long stretch of the ancient one of Selinunte was discovered, of beautiful structure in big square blocks, ending in the large circular basin illustrated years ago by Prof. Salinas.² Unfortunately a part of this interesting construction was destroyed by the makers of the new aqueduct. In the same area two Siculan tombs were discovered; one formed of three chambers opening out of one another, the last one measuring 2.10×2.50 m. and 2 m. high; the second one with a central vestibule and three chambers; this discovery will shortly be published by Prof. Mingazzini.

Near Marsala in the 'Stagnone,' the rudimentary port of departure for Motya (where Mr. Whitaker, as is well known, has a museum of Punic material), a large torso more than life size (Fig. 1) was brought to shore, headless and the lower part of the legs missing. The head was bearded. The marine deposit, in some parts 8 cm. thick, has partly spoiled the perizoma in front, and the left fist, which is closed before the breast. The plain fusion of three elements (Egyptian perizoma, Assyrian beard and

² NSc 1895, 288.

Greek muscular treatment of the nude and of the folds of the perizoma) confirms what the place of discovery suggests—that it is a Phoenician work, one of the very rare pieces of Phoenician sculpture found out of Cyprus. Prof. Mingazzini ascribes it to the first half of the fifth century B.C., although the rigid pose might suggest an earlier age. This characteristic can, however, be explained by the hieratic attitude of a statue of a divinity. It is now in the Museum of Palermo.



FIG. 1.—MARSALA: PHOENICIAN TORSO.

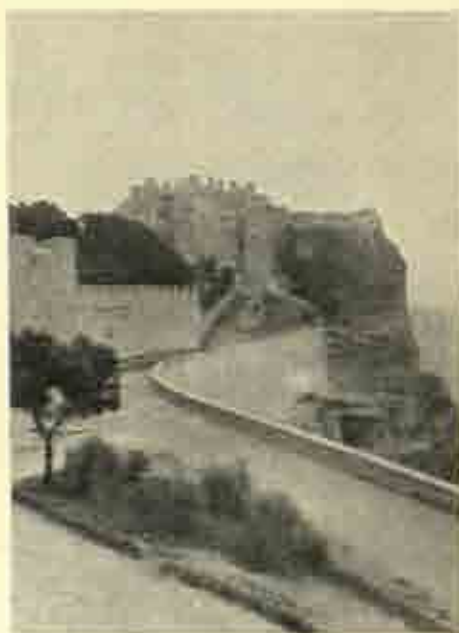


FIG. 2.—ERYX: ENTRANCE TO THE SANCTUARY AREA WITH THE NORMAN CASTLE.

North of Marsala, at Eryx, two campaigns of excavations have been carried on during the last years by Prof. Marconi and Prof. Cultrera, who has recently described them.³ The temple of Aphrodite Erycina on the extreme oriental edge of Mount Eryx (now Mount San Giuliano, one of the most picturesque places in Sicily), was surrounded in ancient days by great fame. According to Diodorus (IV, 83), despite continual change of ownership it never ceased to be the object of attention and development. To-day its temenos is dominated by the Norman castle (Fig. 2). The few but massive remains of the ancient walls, partly utilised by the mediaeval constructions, support the local tradition of a deliberate destruction of the temple *ab imis fundamentis*. Before the excava-

³ NSc 1935, fasc. 7, 8, 9.

tions, in addition to these walls, especially those close to the rock on the north-western side, probably belonging to the Punic period, and some fragments scattered amongst the ruins of the castle (blocks, drums of columns, a triglyph), we knew the so-called *Wall of Daedalus* (7 m. long and 4.50 m. high), a large circular bell-shaped pit 6 m. deep at the oriental extremity of the temenos, known by the name of *Aphrodite's Well* (Fig. 3 A), and two smaller pits at the opposite end. The first one, judging by the plastering of the walls and bottom, must have been a real well, the two smaller ones probably served, as is still the custom in Sicily, as stores of corn, etc.

The first campaign was carried on in the immediate vicinity of the castle and around the so-called Well of Aphrodite. In the first area above the wall of Daedalus looking south a room of rhomboid form was discovered (Fig. 3 B), and attached to the north-east wall of the castle, near the present chapel, remains of ancient walls. The buildings brought to light on the east and south-east edge of Aphrodite's Well are more important (Fig. 3 C). The walls are almost without mortar, made of small uneven stones, put together with poor mud. The lack of any special characteristics makes it difficult to assign a date. The largest wing contains three rooms, the central one being the largest and containing smaller subdivisions. The wing on the east side (Fig. 3 C) has an irregular polygonal shape, with a maximum length of 17 m. At its north-west angle other small internal walls form a little room with the remains of a mosaic pavement in red, white and black squares.

The material discovered in these excavations is also very fragmentary. The numerous upheavals which the area has undergone make it difficult to assign a date. The mixture of the material found in the earth which filled the central room of the south wing is typical: 'two fragments of vases of prehistoric fabric, a fragment of a vase of the geometrical style, another in the Corinthian style, a fragment of a vase with black figures, a few fragments of pottery with red figures, fragments of skyphoi and other vases of black varnish, fragments of lamps also varnished in black, numerous fragments of rough vases, the handle of a phial, the weight of a loom, fragments of roof-tiles and bricks, a large bronze ring'—a perfect documentation of the multisecular life of the sanctuary! According to the discoverer, these buildings can be ascribed roughly to the Punic period.

The second campaign brought to light on the north-east side of the central plateau a whole system of ditches and embankments for the preparation of a tolerable-sized platform (Fig. 3 D). The hypothesis that the temple of Aphrodite stood on this platform might strengthen the local tradition that near the temple a Christian church dedicated to Our Lady of the Snow was erected, of which it has been possible to identify the position of the apse. Assuming that the wall of support of the platform ran parallel to the longitudinal axis of the temple placed above it, we deduce that the position of the temple was not east-west, but north-east, south-west, which would be a proof of the non-hellenic origin of the temple.

In the locality near the temple, and also in its vestibule, the remains of a small Roman thermal edifice were discovered. The larger room was

the *caldarium*, which had considerable traces of a mosaic pavement (Fig. 3 E).

The most important discovery inside the castle (Fig. 3 F) is that of the entrance of the sacred enclosure. Near the gateway a thick wall was brought to light, of big square blocks. At 1.30 m. from the angles of the gate of the castle one can observe in the above-mentioned wall an opening of 1.45 m., which was maintained in the mediaeval construction and turned into an oriel window. Another excavation farther away brought to light more of the enclosure wall, on which was placed a stairway of which two steps remain *in situ*. Given the distance, we cannot suppose that they could serve for the entrance mentioned already, and we must imagine it

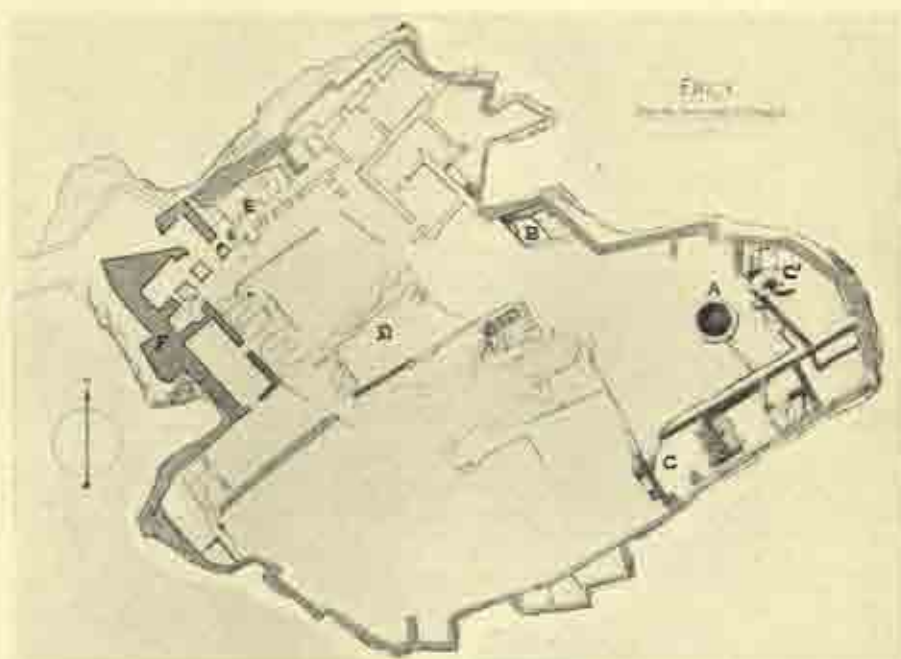


FIG. 3.—ERYX: THE SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE.

to be another entrance to the enclosure. As for the architectural elements formerly noted or recently discovered (triglyph, drums of columns, some smooth in the lower part with fluting in the upper, remains of cornices, the threshold of a door, etc.), they belong in their totality to the Roman epoch, when the temple was rebuilt by Claudius (Suetonius, 25). The triglyph only may have belonged to the primitive temple and have been used again in the reconstruction.

All in all, the scanty discoveries of these two laborious campaigns tell us less for the reconstruction of the temple than does the coin of Considius Nonianus, which represents a tetrastyle temple surrounded by walls. If the triglyph (85 cm. high and 57 wide) belongs to it, the temple, according to Prof. Cultrera, would have had a front of about 10 to 15 or 16 m. if tetrastyle, and not much more if amphiprostyle. It would adapt itself well to the discovered platform, which does not seem to measure more than 25 m.

In mid-April 1934 a large oven-shaped Siculan tomb was discovered (2.20 × 1.80 m.; 1.03 m. high) in the territory of Sant' Isidoro, about 2 km. from Boccadifalco near Palermo, where the year before some hut floors had been found. The tomb contained a dozen corpses, thirty-five vases of impasto of a familiar type (principally little globular phials and cups, the rough ones of a grey colour and the finer ones black), a little triangular obsidian knife, chips of stone, several beads of various materials, one of black granite which does not exist in Sicily, and lastly a shapeless fragment of copper 11 mm. long. Thanks to the diligent research of Dr. Bovio Marconi⁴ light is now thrown on the *texata quaestio* of the age of the numerous groups of tombs in the province of Palermo full of similar, if not identical, material. Unfortunately many of these tombs were discovered accidentally, and have often been destroyed before being methodically excavated and studied. The homogeneous group of tombs which extends for a long way, from Cefalù towards the east (grottos of Chiusella and Fico) to Eryx and towards the west to Trapani, has always been considered pure neolithic notwithstanding the reservation made by Peet, who places it between the neolithic and the eneolithic, considering it a link between the two periods. A complete re-examination of the Palermo material, as yet imperfectly known, is absolutely necessary; it must be recalled that the lack of metal in many tombs has not a chronological significance, but points rather to the quality of existence led at the time; the same should be said of the constant absence of the beautiful painted pottery with its peculiar shapes, found in such great quantities by Orsi in the tombs of the first Siculan period in East Sicily. A help to the chronology of these tombs is given to us by the new discovery, and also by that of some grottoes, unfortunately destroyed, on the edge of Mount Caputo. In one of these, together with the usual fictile material, a little pendant of black granite, and an indefinable cone-shaped object with a hole through the long end, decorated with carved points and with two protuberances (perhaps a little female idol), a copper ring was also found.

CALABRIA

The building of the great State Museum of Reggio Calabria is almost completed. It will contain, besides the material (up to the present time almost all stowed away in storehouses of Syracuse) resulting from the fortunate excavations of Orsi at Locri, Caulonia, Croton, Medma, Hipponion and Cirò, the objects discovered in the territory of the Bruttii during the last years. Amongst the more recent discoveries the most important are a funeral relief found near Grisolia and a female marble head found near Scalea. The funeral relief represents four cloaked figures (the first and the third bearded, the second a female with a child) looking to the right, where a crater is visible in which a cup-bearer is thrusting his right arm. Above these figures there is a large open window, out of which a horse's head in profile to the right can be seen, and over the window a roof, with its plain and round tiles alternate, is schematically designed. This

⁴ *NSr* 1935, fasc. 10, 11, 12.

relief which can be completed from other well-known similar ones (Mantua, Marimont) can be dated to the middle of the fourth century B.C.⁵ The female head found near Scalea (Fig. 4), at the south of the river Lao, is of pentelic marble. It is certainly a Herm, as can clearly be seen by the cut of the left shoulder, the only one preserved. The contrast between the developed shape of the face and the complicated archaistic headdress suggests the ascription of this piece to the archaïcising current which appeared in the decline of the hellenistic period between the second and first centuries B.C.⁶



FIG. 4.—HEAD OF WOMAN FOUND AT SCALEA.

About seventy tombs were discovered at Cosenza during the building of the new hospital. The tombs were 'a cappuccina,' with large tiles. Near every tomb on one side there was always a large jar with traces of black varnish, full of clay, with the remains of the funeral repast, vases of various types, little scraps of flint, and lamps. The pottery found is indeed very poor, rough and insignificant. Bronze is scantily represented by small stirrup-shaped fibulas, being replaced by lead, which proves that the use of many objects (fire dogs, spits, the remains of a small *kottabos*) was for funeral purposes, and not for everyday needs. The most important objects in iron are a spear-point without the socket and a leaf-shaped knife-blade. Silver is represented by a small coin of Locri of the fourth century B.C. and by a little cup of silver leaf. The other coins found are of Crotona and Bruttium. The discovery has a certain importance as proving the existence of an associated life in the area of the city of Cosenza as far back as the fourth and third centuries B.C.

⁵ E. Galli, *Studi etruschi*, VII, 1934.

⁶ *NSc* 1936, fasc. 1, 2, 3.

Sporadic discoveries of material of the Early Iron Age have been made at Rossano, Francavilla Marittima on the territory of the river Crati, which has already given other similar material,⁷ and which Orsi ascribed to those Siculan centres similar to the ones discovered by him in the surroundings of Locri and Hipponion. The most interesting discovery in this field is that of six beautiful hatchets of bronze, unfinished except for one, which has the edge already sharpened, found one on top of the other cross-wise two by two in a grotto of Cirò Superiore. In the vicinity a skeleton in a huddled position and remains of flint, obsidian and rough pottery of impasto were also found.⁸

LUCANIA

Tombs discovered at Matera⁹ were rectangular pits excavated in the tufa; the bodies are in a huddled position. The most interesting material found is pottery of a light yellow clay recalling in form and shape, by the tall ribbon handles and by the geometric decoration (lines, metopes, horizontal bands and triglyphs and some serpentine) of a brown or red colour (and sometimes in two colours), the products of the archaic Apulian culture. We may well say with the publisher of these tombs, Dr. Eleonora Bracco, Director of the Museum of Matera, that they are in a category of archaic geometrical pottery belonging to Matera, which, generally speaking, is distinguished from Peucetian pottery by a greater simplicity of decoration, by the almost exclusive preference given to certain motifs of ornament and by the influence that the geometrical pottery of Lucania and of the coasts of Metapontum has on it. Thus the sign like an M painted on the handles of a crater of remarkable shape found in those tombs (Fig. 5, left) if it has a similarity with Apulian geometrical pottery, recalls still more closely the geometrical vases from Pisticci. In addition to this archaic pottery, in one of the minor tombs and in the surrounding area later pottery of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. was found. Some pieces—a pelike, a krater, and a skyphos—are decorated with red figures of Apulian style, which shew especial affinity to the pottery in the Museum of Castromediano coming principally from Rudie and Egnatia. Near by many fragments of vases of impasto were found, which shew that a centre of the late Bronze Age or of the earliest Iron Age existed already in this part of Matera.

Two other tombs were discovered at Matera (contrada Picciano).¹⁰ The objects found in them were vases and spear-points of iron of the late fifth century B.C. A pitcher with a wide opening in pale yellow earthenware decorated in black and red is more archaic. On its upper part the ground is divided by black stripes in metopes, three of which are decorated with a series of M's superposed and of alternate colours, and in one with the sign of a cross in black (Fig. 5, right). This geometrical decoration resembles that of the archaic pottery of the region, but the shape and the

⁷ *NSc* 1934, f. 4, 5, 6 and 1936, f. 1, 2, 3.

⁸ *NSc* 1935, fasc. 4, 5, 6 and *Boll. di Paleont.* 1935, I.

⁹ *NSc* 1935, fasc. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁰ *NSc* 1935, fasc. 10, 11, 12.

formality of the motifs shew it to be the product of a tradition that is decaying.

At Ferrandina (during drainage works in 'Via Fratelli Bandiera') some tombs in rectangular pits surrounded by flat tiles were found. The

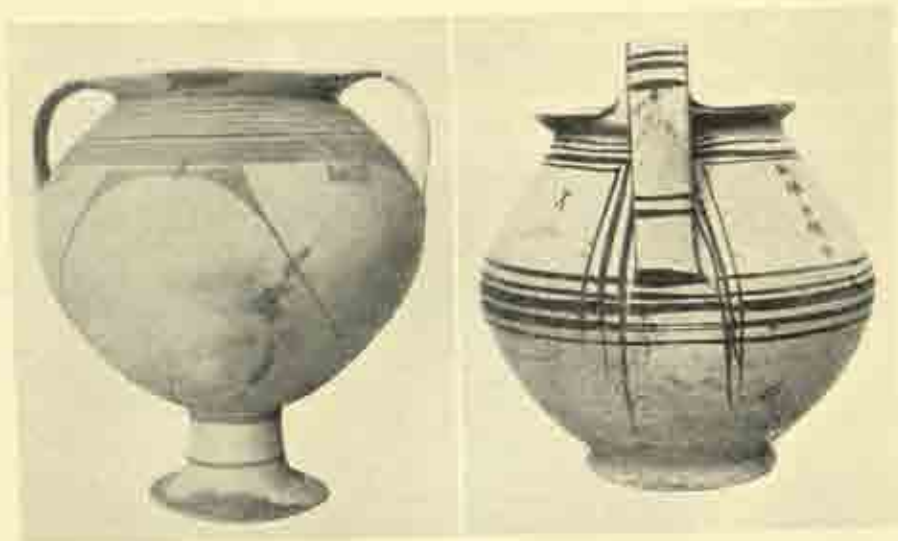


FIG. 5.—CRATERS FOUND AT MATERA.



FIG. 6.—VASE FOUND AT FERRANDINA.

material brought to the Museum of Matera is all of the Hellenistic age. The most important piece is a bell-shaped krater decorated with figures. On one side a female figure is followed by a satyr, on the other side two youths with himatia are facing each other. If the style resembles the Apulian in composition and rhythm, it differs in type of face and in the

more individual lines of the clothing, so that it would seem of a Lucanian fabric, perhaps the same as that of another krater in the Museum of Taranto, also found many years ago at Ferrandina. The two kraters enter into the class of pottery which Tillyard called Lucanian-Apulian, and by their origin can be attributed to a Lucanian workshop not far from the borders of Apulia.

A much older tomb was also found at Ferrandina, during other works in 'Via Pisacane,' which contained a small round strainer with a large opening and handle across the mouth. The composition of the decorative elements, the uncertain execution and the corrections bespeak an artist who does not repeat himself; he must belong to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (Fig. 6).

Between the Bilioso and Bradano valleys near the church of Calle, 20 km. from Tricarico, amongst the shrubs, twenty-five tombs were brought to light after a brief excavation; they are Roman and contain few objects, but the sporadic material found—coins, pottery, painted vases—tell us of a centre of Hellenistic life which is still to be revealed to us.

Lastly, an accidental discovery which makes us regret that it has not been followed by a regular excavation is the one made in the territory of Policoro on the natural border between Lucania and Calabria. During land reclamation work were found two lines of blocks of tufa set like two horse's hoofs facing each other. On three of the blocks are engraved the Greek letters Α, +, Ε; probably these remains belonged to a fortification with towers dominating the river Sinni (the ancient Syris). A few tombs near in a higher stratum were destroyed by the workmen. They contained Hellenistic material. Given the singular importance of this territory, where Heraclea, Pandosia and Siris are still buried, it can be realised how advantageous it would be to excavate here.

Before leaving Lucania we must mention a treasure of coins found at Metapontum during works of bonification that brought to light a Hellenistic quarter of that city. If the greater part (about 800 pieces) has been secured for the Museum of Reggio Calabria, the rest of it, and perhaps the most valuable, has passed into the hands of antiquarians. In fact, while five gold pieces of Metapontum (extremely rare) are in the Museum of Reggio, more than ten (amongst them a 'unicum') have appeared on the antiquarian markets of Rome, Naples, and Paris. The greater part of the coins belong to Metapontum and Taranto, only a few to Eraclea and other centres of Magna Graecia.

APULIA

At Taranto during road- and house-building remains of the great necropolis on which the modern city is built continually come to light. On the so-called 'Pizzone,' well known for the discoveries made there, another tomb has been found with Hellenistic statuettes of terra-cotta, very well preserved, the colour still visible. But the most important discovery has been that made in 'Via Dante Alighieri' of two acroteria in terra-cotta with traces of colour, of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., representing two female figures with one knee bent in the characteristic

pose of running or flying. The remains of the wing between the body and the outer outstretched arm, suggests that they represent one of those winged beings common on pinakes, lekythoi, and other funerary objects of Magna Graecia which for lack of a better word we call *Nikai*, belonging as *acroteria* to a funeral shrine.

In Lecce several discoveries of tombs have been made during drainage works. The great quantity of vases found in them, published by Dr. Mario Bernardini of the Provincial Museum of Lecce,¹¹ belong to the Apulian fabrics of the third century B.C., with the exception of some kraters in the Apulian style with red figures: one represents a nude youth receiving an apple tied with threads from a girl followed by another youth carrying

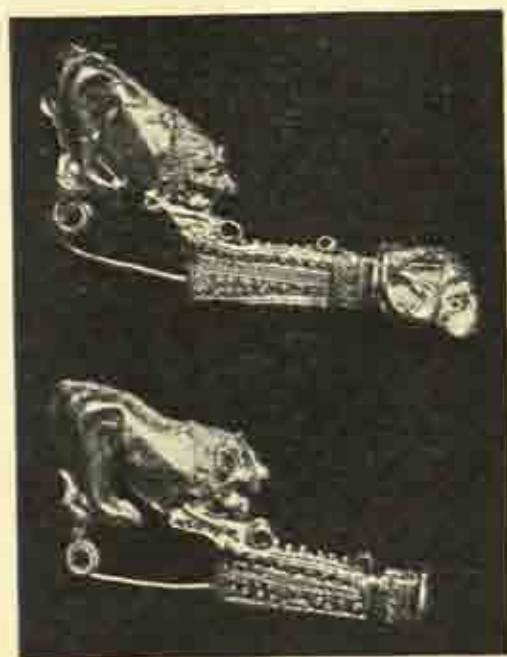


FIG. 7.—ROCA: GOLD FIBULAE.

also an apple; a second krater represents a woman seated on a rock with a thyrsus about to receive an egg from a boy; behind her is a crowned Silenus holding a thyrsus; a third krater represents a girl holding up on high a basket, followed by a naked boy carrying a tambourine. All these vases have on the reverse figures cloaked in himatia, conversing. The finds also include a statuette of Athena in bronze with a triple-crested helmet and a large rectangular shield, of late and poor execution.

More important results were gained in the excavation of Roca, a part of the village of Melendugno, but the name and history of the centre where the discoveries were made are unknown. The most remarkable discovery is that of the wall that enclosed the town, 3.15 m. wide. Near the walls, tombs made of rectangular pits excavated in the rock and covered with

¹¹ *NSc* 1933 and 1934.

slabs were found, some with a covering of white chalk decorated with red and brown stripes. Amongst the material collected during the excavations, there are a few sherds of prehistoric pottery, but nothing between this and a few fragments of the fifth century B.C. Pottery in the Apulian and local style of the fourth and third centuries B.C. is abundant. To the same epoch belong unpretentious objects in bronze and iron, and two beautiful gold fibulae which we reproduce almost life size (Fig. 7). The sheaths are worked in filigree and end in a ram's head (one is missing); the thread-like bow is decorated with the figure of a roaring lion in act of leaping towards the ram. The body of each lion is composed of two plates soldered together.

Towards the end of 1934, a Museum was opened in the Town Hall at Canosa, which will collect all the material found on its territory. Up to the present the nucleus of the Museum is composed of a set of rich funerary furniture from the monumental tomb discovered in May 1928, which comprises pottery and glass, a silver jewel-case shaped like a shell, with the name of the owner engraved on the hinge; and also a silver pyxis with a medallion in relief on its cover; a cup; a small pitcher; two large pins; and a little horn; in gold, a magnificent diadem—leaves, lilies with turquoises and pearls enamelled in green, white, and red; a caduceus of open-work; a necklace with drops; a delightful pair of earrings with vine-leaves, and clusters of small pearls; a ring; threads and lamina. This precious material, dating from the first quarter of the third century B.C., has been published in the review *Japigia* (1935, III) by Superintendent R. Bartoccini.

CAMPANIA

In November 1934, near Maddaloni, four coffin-shaped tombs in blocks of tufa were accidentally found. They belonged to the city of Calatia, the necropolis of which had been discovered in 1881. The new tombs yielded¹² many Italiote vases with polychrome decoration, vases of black varnish, rough pottery and remains of armour (belts of bronze lamina and spear-points). The material, which is not very remarkable, belongs to the third century B.C.

At Elea the work happily initiated in 1927 by the 'Magna Graecia' Society, which has here financed three campaigns of excavation, has been resumed by the 'Ente Turistico Salernitano,' on the area of the ancient city. A Hellenistic quarter has come to light with a rectilinear design, of the third century B.C., its little roads paved with local stone and the houses built of blocks mixed with the characteristic bricks of Elea; also, remains of Roman baths with a mosaic pavement.

By the initiative of the 'Ente Turistico Salernitano' at Paestum part of the city wall has been restored. It is composed of a double construction, both Greek and Lucanian. Unfortunately, in the restoration, tourist and panoramic interests have been consulted more than scientific interests. A column of the Lucanian temple (the so-called temple of Peace) has also been re-erected.

But the most important discovery of the last years, in the words of

¹² Majuri, *NSe* 1936, p. 51.

Superintendent Prof. A. Majuri, not only in Campania, but in all southern Italy, is the one of the famous Sanctuary of Hera Argive¹³ in the lower part of the river Sele, north of Paestum (Fig. 8). The research conducted by



FIG. 8.—VIEW OF THE HERAEON, NEAR PAESTUM.



FIG. 9.—THE HERAEON: METOPE OF TEMPLE A; HERACLES STEALING THE DELPHIC TRIPOD.

Dr. Paola Zancani-Montuoro and myself on behalf of the 'Magna Graecia' Society, on both banks of the ancient Silarus, had the most happy results. The campaigns of excavation began in April 1934, and with the necessary

¹³ See Strabo, VI, 252; Pliny *N.H.* III, 5, 70; Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*.

interruptions during the malarial months have continued up to the present, nor can one say that they are yet terminated. I shall give a brief résumé of the results of these three first campaigns.

I. A Doric peripteral temple of which there remains only the stereobate of 18.65×39.05 m. with pronaos, cella and adyton; it faces almost exactly to the east. It had eight columns on the two fronts, and seventeen on the sides. This edifice reminds one in many ways of the so-called temple of Ceres at Paestum, and can be dated between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries B.C. The details of its plan, which can be measured in Ionic feet, the decorations of the neck of the capitals, of the cornices and many other details shew that same Ionic influence which is evident in the temple of Ceres and in other Doric temples of this period in Magna Graecia.

We recovered fragments of drums of columns with eighteen flutings, capitals, several cornices of which the most numerous have a Lesbian and Ionic kymation; fragments of triglyphs and of metopes. One metope we found entire, but unfortunately ruined in ancient times, having been used as the base of a stele, representing perhaps Heracles in the act of stealing the Delphic tripod (Fig. 9); of a second we found the lower half, which represents a duel, closer identification is not possible. Among the figured fragments was an archer kneeling on the left followed by another figure, belonging probably to the southern angle of the west front. We were also able to recover many fragments of the sima with lion-headed gargoyles. While all the structural elements of the temple—columns and capitals—are in limestone like the two more archaic temples of Paestum, the decorative parts—triglyphs, metopes, cornices—are in the local sandstone. The temple, built on a frequently flooded area, has one singular detail: all the corners are strengthened by two sturdy buttresses which assure its stability.

An excavation in the cella, which still contains the blocks that upheld the idol, has revealed to us the existence of a more ancient religious centre; amongst the remains of burned earth and charcoal we found the fragments of some primitive statuettes and of pottery of the first half of the sixth century B.C. (Fig. 10).

II. To this period belongs another little edifice which is placed parallel to the first and 15 m. to the north. It is a small prostyle temple of 13×8.90 m. The four columns of the pronaos were set in the soil with no stylobate. Of the cella the foundation remains and part of two ranges above the line of the euthynteria.

Of great importance for the history of the art of Magna Graecia are the decorative and architectural elements found, all in local sandstone, the capital with a very flat echinus, the capitals of the anta very similar in shape to those of the Basilica of Paestum, beautifully decorated, one with roses and the other with palmettes and lotus-flowers; and two sculptured metopes widely differing in style. The first one, complete and very well preserved, represents, according to the happy interpretation of my colleague,¹⁴ the rape of Lato by the giant Tityos (Fig. 11), who, while he holds his divine prey with his left hand, tears from his forehead with his right the

¹⁴ Paola Zancani-Montuoro, *Metope arcaica dello Heraion lucano* in *La Critica d'arte*, ottobre, 1935.

arrow aimed at him by Apollo; the second, incomplete, represents the figure of a bearded man in profile with hands outstretched and folded; from an evident junction at the loins the figure is proclaimed to be a centaur conceived in the archaic manner. While in the first metope the figures are deeply cut in the stone with level superposed planes and the



FIG. 10.—THE HERAION; ARCHAIC TERRACOTTA FRAGMENTS FROM THE CELLA OF TEMPLE A.



FIG. 11.—THE HERAION; METOPE OF TEMPLE B; TITYOS AND LATO.

details completed in painting, in the second one the figure is accurately carved, especially in the anatomical details.

III. Between the two edifices there was a sacred area on which had been erected stelai and donaria: here we found six bases (including the metope of Heracles used again and found in this area), of which five were for stelai and one for a donarium. One of the stelai was still stuck in its base with lead; two more we were able to reconstruct almost entirely; in view of their coarse material, they had been stuccoed and painted, but unfortunately the marshy nature of the soil has effaced all trace of inscription.

In this area we also discovered the Hellenistic *favissa* on the first day of excavation: the stratum, 30-50 cm. deep, extended from about the middle of the southern side of the small temple for more than 15 m. in length to the east and 8-10 m. in width to the south. It is not possible to speak here of the rich material found: statuettes, almost all feminine of various types, but all finely wrought (Fig. 12), thousands of little heads with different head-dresses, votive offerings (Fig. 13), little vases of several shapes in local ware, some painted, and a few fragments of a vase with figures in relief; small bronze objects and coins of different cities of Magna Graecia and of the Roman Republic. All this material represents one of the stages of the secular life of the sanctuary.

IV. Exploration layer by layer underneath the small archaic temple revealed the existence of another deposit of sacred material, unfortunately much spoiled by the levelling and preparing of the area where the edifice was to be placed. There are thousands of precious Corinthian and Protocorinthian fragments belonging to about 300 vases and statuettes which have been partly pieced together again by us. The extremely primitive statuettes of fine fabric represent a female kourotrophic divinity, evidently Hera, seated on a throne, with the child on her left arm and a pomegranate in her left hand. An innumerable quantity of iron nails with a large flat, round head of copper or bronze were also found, some bronze rings, two golden leaves, one of which was enclosed in a tiny tripod of silver about 4 cm. high, and lastly some bits of pottery of prehistoric impasto. This material, dating from the beginning of the sixth to the end of the eighth centuries B.C., testifies to the age of the sanctuary, which remains under the shadow of its mythical foundation by Jason and the Argonauts.

V. On the opposite side of the large temple towards the south-west, a bothros or sacred well was discovered, fortunately intact (Fig. 14). Constructed throughout its depth of 3.52 m. with large chalky slabs and measuring at the mouth 100 x 90 cm., it presented at its opening, below some blocks of sandstone, first a Roman stratum with four lamps, two coins of Hadrian and the bones of a large dog. Under a second stratum of mixed sand and clay and another block of sandstone the Greek Hellenistic material was heaped together: vases of different shapes and sizes from big pitchers to small cups, female busts supporting flower, aryballoi ribbed or with a white on black reticulate pattern or with painted figures of Lucanian fabric; bronze handles of situlae; the bones of the animals sacrificed, and the charred remains of the wood of the sacred pyre, very well preserved.

VI. At about 60 m. north-east of the small archaic temple we discovered an edifice with a portico 29.80 m. long and 7.60 m. wide. It had a central hall open for the greater part to the south with a portico of five columns, which we must imagine to be of wood and for which we found the cylindrical sandstone supports in the ground. The large central hall has two smaller rooms on the sides. At a later period, to enlarge the covered area, two roofs were built supported by stone pilasters at the two sides of the southern front, so as to obtain a second outer portico 3.95 m. wide and divided into two wings alongside the central one. Another building 21.15 m. long and 5.49 m. wide, divided into two rooms of different



FIG. 12.—THE HERAION: TERRACOTTA STATUETTES.



FIG. 13.—THE HERAION: POMEGRANATES, FRUIT AND EGGS FROM THE FIRST FAVISSA.



FIG. 14.—THE HERAION: THE BOTHROS.

lengths, extends from north to south, attached to the east corner of the first.

The upper part of these two buildings was made of wood and unbaked bricks, as is evident from the constructional details; the objects found (knives, fibulae, needles, red pottery) suggest that they were used by pilgrims and priests and belonged only indirectly to the cult.

Of the recent discovery of a new *favissa*, more archaic than the preceding one, which has already yielded about a thousand terra-cottas and of the necropolis of a prehistoric native village about 1 km. from the Sanctuary I shall speak in a subsequent article on the discoveries of 1936.

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NOTES

Hellenistic and Sigillata Wares in the Near East.—An impetus has of late been given to the study of Hellenistic and Sigillata wares in the Near East, principally by the excavations in the Athenian Agora and at Antioch.¹ Until recently, few excavators troubled to publish their material of this period, and it has consequently remained largely an unknown quantity to Western scholars. A very cursory inspection, however, is sufficient to show the importance and interest of a proper study of the subject for students both of the Hellenistic East and of Sigillata wares in the West. One or two of the chief results of a preliminary survey² of the material collected from a number of excavations and museums (Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Pergamon, Samaria, Tarsus, etc.) are briefly summarised below.

1. The old classification into 'Samian' and 'Pergamene' can no longer be maintained.

2. A large admixture of Western fabrics, Gaulish as well as Italian, is usual on all Near Eastern sites where sigillata is found.

3. The first requisite for the identification of wares, in the East as in the West, is the discovery of kilns and other proof of manufacture. The only ware so identified hitherto is Tschandarli ware. An allied ware, also identified, and best classed under Sigillata, is Nabatean.

4. A commencement is made with an *Index of Pottery Stamps* found in the East (both Eastern and Western potters). A list of some one hundred and seventy different potters, with various examples of each, and place where found, is given.

The following comments amplify the above four points; for further details reference should be made to the article quoted (n. 2, below).

1. The identification of 'Samian' and 'Pergamene' wares rests on nothing but tradition. When examined, each of these ostensible wares is seen to include various different fabrics. Few are agreed on a definition of, e.g., 'Pergamene.'

The German excavators on Samos are convinced that at least two different fabrics were

manufactured there, one of them being the principal ware hitherto assumed to be 'Pergamene.'³ Apart from this, no criterion for the identification of 'Pergamene' ware has ever been agreed upon: the disc impressions, the (assumed) non-micaceous nature of the clay, have both lately fallen to the ground.

2. About half the potters' stamps recorded to date are Western (Italian or Gaulish), and this remains approximately true when the number of times each occurs is taken into account. Amongst the Italian wares, both Puteolan and Arretine are well represented. Decorated vessels of Western fabric seem to be scarce; there is a fragment of Form 29 in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, lately acquired from Petra: a sherd from Samaria is identified by Mr. T. Davies Pryce as late Banassac, and several examples of second century Form 37 were noted at Antioch by Mr. F. N. Pryce. Western imports were not confined to glazed wares, e.g., an unglazed beaker bearing the stamp of the N. Italian potter ACO, found near Askalon, is included. This strong 'potential' of Western products towards the East is further illustrated by the finding of a fibula of the AVCISSA type (bearing the name) in Jerusalem itself, dated to c. 60-70 A.D.

3. In place of the traditional 'Samian' and 'Pergamene' it is suggested that eventually, when our knowledge of Eastern sigillata wares is more advanced, it will be found that a great many different factories exist, perhaps divisible into several main groups, as in Gaul. Eastern sigillata has no very exact boundaries, and includes wares which might perhaps be more exactly described as 'red slip ware,' having little more than a red wash. For this reason we include the peculiar fabric known as 'Nabatean' under the general head of Sigillata. It is linked with true sigillata on the one hand, and with the inferior red washed wares on the other, by its shapes, technique and firing, and especially by its use of impressed decoration, most often in the form of rouletting. It would seem to have been manufactured in the neighbourhood of Petra, which is about the centre of its recorded occurrences. It may probably be regarded in more

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, *passim*, and *Antioch on the Orontes*, I.

² Hiffe, *Sigillata Wares in the Near East* (*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, VI, pp. 4-59).

³ Cf. Eilmann, *AM* 1933, 47-59.

than one sense as a pointer for the study of Eastern sigillata, and has considerable value as a definitely identifiable fabric.

4. The following selection will give some idea of the potters' names included in the list.¹ The most prolific so far is ΧΑΡΙΣ, followed, *longo intervallo* by CN. ATEIVS, C. AMVRIVS, ΔΩΡΟΝ, ΕΡΜΗΣ, L. TITIVS, and ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΣ.

(The figure in brackets after the name gives the number of occurrences.)

- ACATVS (2) Alexandria, Athens.
 ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥΣ (1) Tschandarli, (retro).
 C. AMVRIVS (17) Alexandria, Athens, Beisan, Olbia.
 ΑΜΦΙΩΝ (2) Tarsus.
 ARRETIVS (1) Alexandria.
 CN. ATEIVS (20) Alexandria, Athens, Palestine.
 AVILLIVS, A., L., and P. (6) Alexandria, Athens, Samaria.
 BLASTVS MVNATIVS (2) Puteoli, Antioch.
 Writes his name also in Greek.
 CARBO (1) Alexandria.
 C. CRESTVS (6) Alexandria, Athens.
 ΔΩΡΟΝ (11) Alexandria, Olbia, Athens, Kertch, Bubastus, Priene.
 ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣ (2) Pergamon, Tarsus.
 EPIGONVS (ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΣ) (5) Athens, Puteoli.
 ΕΡΜΗΣ (14) Alexandria, Antioch, Tarsus, Athens, Priene, S. Russia, Puteoli, Jerash.
 EVHODVS (5) Alexandria, Athens, Tell el Mashuta.
 L. GELLIVS (5) Alexandria, Tarsus, Athens.
 IVLIVS (2) Beisan, Athens.
 ΚΑΙΣΥ (3) Tarsus, Samaria.
 ΚΕΡΔΟΣ (13) Alexandria, Antioch, Samaria, Olbia.
 ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΣ (COERANVS) (8) Alexandria, Athens, Priene, Ephesus, Olbia, unspecified Western sites.
 CN. A. M (= CN. ATEI MAHETIS) (3) Alexandria, Athens.
 C. MERI (7) Alexandria, Athens.
 MVRTILVS (1) Athens.
 NAEVIVS (2) Dura (Palestine), Olbia.
 ΝΙΚΙΑΣ (NICIAS) (3) Alexandria, Priene.
 ΝΙΚΟ (NICO) (4) Alexandria, Athens, 'Greece'.
 ΟΠΑΙΩΝΟΣ? (3) Alexandria, Antioch.
 M. PERENNIVS (5) Tarsus, Athens, Priene.

¹ No comprehensive collection of potters' stamps on sigillata in the East has yet been made. The chief publications which have discussed or listed them are the Ernst von Sieglin Expedition's great report, and the publications of the pre-war German expeditions to Asia Minor, e.g., Pergamon, Priene and Ephesus.

- ΠΟΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ (POSIDONIVS) (7) Alexandria, Athens, Priene, Rome.
 PRIAMVS (1) El Iblakiya (Palestine).
 PRIMVS (Puteoli and S. Gaul) (4) Alexandria, Dura (Palestine).
 RASINIVS (7) Alexandria, Athens, Antioch.
 T. RVFRENIVS (3) Alexandria.
 SAMIA (3) Alexandria, Samaria (Sebastia).
 C. SENTIVS (4) Alexandria, Pergamon, Athens, Priene.
 A. SESTIVS (Arretine) (4) Alexandria, Antioch, Athens.
 SEXTVS ANNIVS (6) Alexandria, Athens, Samaria (Sebastia), Antioch.
 L. TETTIVS (5) Alexandria, Antioch, El Iblakiya (Palestine), Samaria (Sebastia).
 THYRSVS (3) Antioch, Athens, Alexandria.
 L. TITIVS (10) Alexandria, Athens, Antioch.
 ΤΙΤΟΣ (2) Tarsus, Antioch.
 ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΣ (1) Memphis.
 C. VIBIVS (5) Athens, Olbia.
 C. VOLVSENVS (3) Alexandria, Memphis.
 COSIVS and VRAPPVS (1) Athens.
 ΧΑΡΙΣ (51) Alexandria, Antioch, Tarsus, Athens, Samaria (Sebastia), Priene, Samos.
 ΖΑΜΒΟΣ (4) Antioch, Athens, Tarsus.
 ZOILVS (5) Alexandria, Athens.
 ΩΠΑΙΟΣ (3) Olbia, Priene, Athens.

New additions to the complete list from which the above are taken will always be welcomed.

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Greek Vases in the Otago Museum [PLATE XIV].—Of the recent acquisitions to the Classical Collection of the Otago Museum (Dunedin, New Zealand) the most noteworthy is a particularly fine Attic white ground lekythos of about the middle of the fifth century (Plate XIV). It stands 38 cm. high and is in an excellent state of preservation, having been most carefully repaired with a minimum of repainting, which has affected only the breast of the woman, the right hand of the warrior, and some details of the small figure on top of the stele.

The design represents a stele scene of the sort so popular with lekythos artists of this period. To the left stands a woman wearing a sleeved chiton, so thin that it clearly allows her bowed legs to be seen through it; with her left hand she points downward to the base of the stele, which is adorned with a fillet and a wreath. On the other side stands a hoplite with his shield and spear; particular attention has been paid to the drawing of his armour, the breastplate and helmet are very fine—we can even make out the

little running figure which serves as the design on the neck-piece of the latter. On top of the stele stands a small figure draped in a flowing himation and carrying a tall staff, probably intended as a representation of the dead son of the couple at the stele.

The lekythos is a very good specimen of that large class of such vases which relies for the effect on pure line, with little or no aid from colour. At the head of the artists of this class stands the Achilles Painter, and though the present vase



FIG. 1.—DETAIL OF LEKYTHOS IN DUNEDIN.

is not actually from his hand, it clearly owes much to his style; the warrior, for example, is certainly based upon the very similar characters to be found so frequently on his vases.

As few of the Otago vases are known outside Dunedin and have been published only in the *Reports of the Museum*, it may be as well to give here a few further details about the collection, which is a small one, but fairly representative. On the archaic side there is a Mycenaean cup with linear decoration and a floral pattern, a geometric pyxis with a meander pattern, a large Proto-attic krater, 30 cm. high, in shape a late by-form of the geometric krater, with geometric

decoration typical of the first few decades of Proto-attic and dating to about the beginning of the seventh century,¹ and a small Corinthian pyxis with a palmette pattern. There is a fine b.f. oenochoe of the end of the sixth century shewing on a white background a centaur with a branch. Of Attic red-figure the best examples are a lekythos of about 470 with a seated Athena holding a helmet, and a kylix of about the same date or a little later showing inside two youths conversing and on the outside youths with horses. A second white ground lekythos of later date than the one referred to above shows a woman in a coloured himation with offerings at a stele, but the design has been extensively repainted. There are several Italiote vases, the most interesting of which is a small Apulian oenochoe from Lipari, 14.5 cm. high, figuring a comic actor in phlyax costume, one hand up-raised, the other holding a situla. It would date to early in the last quarter of the fourth century.

There is also a small collection of Cypriote pottery containing some thirty pieces, ranging in date from neolithic to Hellenistic times, and another about the same size of pieces from Etruscan sites, together with a good selection of sherds from Malta, Mycenae and Troy.

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The Hermes of Praxiteles.—To the discussion conducted during 1931, in the pages of *The American Journal of Archaeology*, regarding the authenticity of this work Prof. W. B. Dinsmoor made an important contribution,² in which he pointed out marked technical differences between the style of the pedestal in front of which the statue was found and that of pedestals of the second century A.D., to which some would assign the work. In his opinion the pedestal dates from the second century B.C., a period hardly possible as the date of the statue itself; the inference being that during that century the statue had been transferred from its original position to the place in the Heraeum where it was found. I suggest that the occasion of the transfer was the receipt, in 146 B.C., at Olympia of intelligence of Mummius' proceedings at Corinth. He in fact treated Olympia well, dedicating gilded shields on the temple of

¹ I am very grateful to Mr. John Cook of King's College, Cambridge, for furnishing me with information about this vase, and to Mr. H. D. Skinner, Curator of the Otago Museum, for supplying me with the material on which these notes are based.

² *AJA* xxxv, 296.

Zeus¹ and images of Zeus from the spoils of Achaia,² in addition to other gifts. But the authorities may reasonably not have anticipated such treatment from him, and have decided that removal to the Heraeum, the oldest temple at Olympia, offered the best chance of preserving the statue. The chryselephantine works by Leochares which Pausanias³ states to have been moved to the Heraeum, where he saw them, from the Philippeum may have been moved thither at the same time. Possibly the Hermes stood originally in the Prytaneum, which, like the Philippeum, was close to the Heraeum, and would have possessed much less protective sanctity than that temple.

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Aphrodite Ourania at Hierapolis in Phrygia.—

On the site of Hierapolis ad Lycum a massive wall said to have been discovered in 1933 pre-

[ὁ δὲ ἐπιμήστην
[τὸν δαίμονα]
[several lines]
[- - -] λων πολὺ
[λ]ῶν, νεακόρον τῇ[ς]
[Ο]ύρανίαν Ἀφροδίτη[ς],
ἀνδρα τῶν ἑταίρων
5 μένων ἐπὶ τε ἡθους
σιμνότητι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀναισθητοῖς ὅτι αὐτοῦ
χάριτος ἔρως ὅτι
στρατηγίας καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνα-
10 θασί ἐκτυπώματος
ἀργυροῦ χαρίτων
τῇ Οὐρανίᾳ Ἀφροδίτῃ.
[ὁ]πότε - - -
- - - -

Ligatures: TH, 6 and 12 (twice); NE, 4 and 5; PE, 8. This spelling of νεακόρον occurs elsewhere; e.g. *Mus. k. Bibl.* v, 1884-85, p. 13, no. 224:3. The omega like an egg standing on a bar (*Forsch. in Eph.* ii, no. 23; iii. nos. 52, 85), and the phi (3) with incurved 'petals' not touching the stem (*R. de phil.* xxxvii, 1913, p. 315, no. 10) are found in the latter part of the second century. Our text may well date under Marcus or Commodus.

This is the only evidence of the worship at Hierapolis of Aphrodite Ourania. Her possession of valuable works of art and the fact that her *neokoros* was one of the city's chief magistrates suggest that her temple there must have been of some repute. Yet nowhere else in Asia Minor has any certain record of her cult survived.⁴ The patron-goddess of Aphrodisias seems never to have been called 'Heavenly,' and, from her



FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION FROM HIERAPOLIS.

serves among other ancient fragments part of an inscribed pedestal probably dating from the latter half of the second century A.D. To the kindness of a correspondent I owe the photograph (Fig. 1) of this marble block. The dimensions are lacking, but if, as seems probable, the letters are about 0.03 m. high, the inscribed surface measures about 0.66 by 0.40. The present transcription gives, I believe, the first ancient text found at Hierapolis since the publication in 1893 of Judeich's corpus.⁵

effigies on the city's coinage, was evidently Greek in name only; like Artemis at Ephesus and Leto at Patara, she was in essence the autochthonous 'Mother.' On the other hand, Aphrodite Ourania, representing Sacred Love as distinct from Profane (*A. Pandemos*),⁶ was so highly honoured at Athens and other centres of Hel-

⁵ The monument in the Verona Museum (*CIG* 3157), published as being from Smyrna but doubtful as to provenance and authenticity, offers, so far as I know, the sole evidence of the cult elsewhere in Asia.

⁶ Cf. Theocr. *Epigr.* v (Ahrens); Pausanias (ix, 16, 2) and Artemidorus (*Onirocr.* ii. 37) draw the same distinction as that in the epigram.

¹ Pausanias V, 10, 5.

² *Id.* V, 24, 4, 8.

³ V, 17, 4; 20, 10.

⁴ C. Humann, C. Cichorius, W. Judeich, F. Winter, *Altortümer v. Hierapolis*; *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft* iv. Our text, if there inserted, would be no. 49a.

lenism¹ that one inclines to regard her as purely Greek; yet she was but a naturalised Hellenic, an immigrant from Phoenicia by way of Cyprus.² Her cult was presumably brought to Hierapolis by the hellenisation that began under the Attalid kings; and thus in her western disguise with *Charites* and *Erotes* as attendants the Semitic 'Queen of Heaven,'³ Aphrodite of Byblos,⁴ came to include Phrygians among her votaries.⁵

The *Erotes* (8) dedicated $\delta\eta\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ are the first example from Hierapolis of the *summa honoraria*, the honorary fee due from our strategus 'in return for' his election to that office. The equivalent $\alpha\tau\tau\iota$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ occurs near by⁶ at Laodicea⁷ and our phrascology $\delta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$

at Pergamon;⁸ a bronze *Eros* is mentioned among the treasures in the temple of Aphrodite at Delos.⁹

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Correction.—I apologise for certain errors in *A Terracotta Sarcophagus in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, published in the June number of the *Journal*. The most serious is on p. 62: it appears from *Clava Rhodus* viii that no. 4, not no. 5, contained the lekythos of the Aeschines painter. The more elaborate decoration of no. 4 makes it important for dating the Rhodian group. These two sarcophagi are now well published by Dr. Laurenzi in *Clava Rhodus* viii, no. 4 in figs. 31–35, no. 5 in figs. 20 and 21. The heads in the panels of nos. 4 and 8 are closer than I had thought; compare the outlines of the right-hand head of no. 4 and the eye, eyebrow and ear of the left-hand head with those of the head on no. 8. Compare also the shoulder reservations of the lions. These two pieces must be by the same hand, presumably Rhodian, and of about the same date—470–460.

Further, p. 59, no. 1: Archdeacon Hopkinson tells me this sarcophagus was probably found in Camiros. No. 4: from Annuachia, Ialyssos. No. 5: *UP* and *LP* between bands of broken meander; *LC*, double wavy line. P. 61, no. 8: I have since examined this sarcophagus and think the suggested decoration for *LC* and *FP* correct.

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¹ For A. Ourania in the following places, see Paus. i, 14, 7 and 10, 2 (Athens); ii, 23, 8 (Argos); iii, 23, 1 (Cythera); vi, 20, 6 (Olympia) and 25, 2 (Elis); vii, 26, 7 (Aegira); viii, 32, 2 (Megalopolis); ix, 16, 2 (Thebes). Cf. also *IG* iv², 283 (Epidauros); *IG* v, 559, 23 (Sparta); *IG* vii, 1828 (Thespiae: epigram by Hadrian); *IG* xiv, 287 (Segesta); *CIG* 2109b (Panticapaeum).

² Broner (*Hesperia* i, 1932, p. 33; cf. iv, 1935, p. 574) has shown that Aphrodite Ourania came from Cyprus, and the Cypriot goddess was originally identical with the Phoenician (Roscher, *Lex.* i, 653); research has thus so far confirmed in part the opinion of Pausanias (i, 14, 7) that 'the first people to worship the Heavenly Goddess were the Assyrians, and next to these were the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus and the Phoenicians of Ascalon in Palestine. (tr. Frazer).'

³ Jeremiah vii, 18: xlv, 17; S. A. Cook, *The Old Testament*, p. 149 f.

⁴ See J. Garstang-H. Strong, *The Syrian Goddess* (1913), p. 45. A representation of Aphrodite Ourania with nimbus has been found at Dura; *Excav. at Dura*, 6th Rep. (1936), p. 281, note 4.

⁵ They might readily have accepted her since, as Ed. Meyer points out (Roscher, *Lex.* i, 655), the cult of the Phrygian 'Mother' was full of Semitic features.

⁶ *CIG* 3948; *IGR* iv, 862.

⁷ *AM* xxvii, 1902, p. 93, no. 83. Cf. the examples cited by L. Robert, *BCH* lx, 1936, p. 196.

⁸ Durrbach-Roussel, *Insur. de Delos*, *Fragm. vases divers*, 1412, 32; 1414, 2 ii, 10; 1417, A ii, 12; 1426, B ii, 14; 1442, B, 32.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Paolo Orsi, 1859-1935. Pp. 492; 22 plates.

Rome: a cura dell' Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania. 50 L.

This book is a memorial to the life and work of the late Senator Paolo Orsi, for more than forty years director of the Museum at Syracuse. It consists of a number of papers by distinguished Italian and foreign scholars in appreciation and discussion of his work. The book has been edited by his friend, Uberto Zanotti-Bianco, who has contributed a sketch of his life and an account of his relations with the Società Magna Grecia, the body which financed many of his later excavations. Although Orsi's life-work was in Sicily and Calabria, he was born and bred in the Trentino, and G. Roberti gives an account of his archaeological work in North Italy before he was appointed to Syracuse. There follow a number of papers on the prehistory of Sicily and South Italy, a subject almost the entire material of which has been provided by Orsi's excavations. C. and L. Cafici summarise the latest opinions on the prehistoric tribes of Sicily. D. Levi contributes a list of the finds of Mycenaean objects in Sicily. C. F. Crispo gives a critical description of the prehistoric settlements in the neighbourhood of Locri Epizephyri. Next there are papers on the various classes of objects found by Orsi during his excavations, for instance P. Ducati on 'L'arte figurata' and P. Marconi on the temples of Sicily and Magna Grecia. The most interesting of these is the publication for the first time of a complete Locrian 'Pinax,' re-integrated from fragments in various museums by P. Zancani-Montuoro. This paper contains important evidence on the manufacture of matrices for terracottas. S. Fuch's paper on 'Le Arti Minori' contains some new views on the famous situla from Watsch. Three papers follow on Orsi's work in Roman, Christian and Mediaeval antiquities by G. Libertini, G. Agnello and B. Capelli. The latter suggests a new site for the lost Mercurion of Calabria. There are papers on Orsi's numismatic and epigraphic work and on his activities in the museum and the town of Syracuse. Finally there is a complete bibliography of his writings, with a commentary by G. Agnello, arranged under the dates of publication. There is a full

index to the bibliography. The book is illustrated with photographs, mostly well known, of Orsi's major discoveries.

The part of the book of most use to English students will be the bibliography. Many of the articles which merely record Orsi's activities are well supplied with footnotes, and will form useful subject bibliographies of his work and of other recent contributions to Sicilian archaeology. The book contains many new suggestions, the majority of which are likely to be forgotten owing to the unfortunate absence of a general index, and even of page-headings. As a tribute to Orsi the book is more successful. It illustrates the extraordinary scope of his work; he was equally at home in Prehistory or the Middle Ages. It shows also the degree of affection which he habitually inspired. Too much space, however, is devoted to somewhat unprofitable speculation on prehistory, a fault which Orsi always studiously avoided. Little pains have been taken to avoid repetition; there are four versions of Orsi's neolithic discoveries at Steminello. Orsi would have preferred that the money and the scholarship which have gone to producing this book had been spent on the publication of original work, or, better, on the recording of some of his own still unpublished excavations.

D. F. A.

Volume offert à Jean Capart. (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire orientales, Université libre de Bruxelles, vol. iii.*) Pp. 684, 138 plates. Brussels, 1935.

To do justice to this excellent volume, which has been dedicated to that eminent Egyptologist, Prof. Jean Capart, nothing less than a detailed review of the many articles which go to make up its whole would be necessary. Unfortunately, the bulk of the contributions, ranging, in period, from 3000 B.C. to the present day, and covering territory from the Far East to Central Europe, lies outside the scope of this *Journal*. It must suffice to record that Egyptology, not unnaturally, takes the most prominent place amongst this wide and varied selection of essays. Only the Egyptologist will appreciate many of these scholarly expositions, but some of the articles, e.g., that of W. S. and

A. R. Blackman, dealing with the connexion of an ancient Egyptian symbol, worn on the head of the birth-goddess Meshent, with a modern amulet, will appeal to a far wider body of readers. Few, again, will fail to find something of value in Jéquier's article on floral designs on cups from tomb reliefs and paintings. Classical scholars will derive their chief utility from such contributions as the epigraphical notes, dealing with inscriptions found in various parts of Egypt, by P. Jouquet; *Digénis Akritas et le Calif Mu'tasim*, which records many interesting readings, by H. Grégoire; and an article by A. Delatte on Etruscan art.

In conclusion, one cannot but deplore, whatever may have been the reason, the paucity of contributions by English scholars to the Festschrift of one who has done so much for international scholarship as Prof. Capart.

I. E. S. E.

The Archaeological History of Iran. By E. E. HERZFELD. (*Schweich Lectures*). Pp. xii + 112; 20 plates. London: The British Academy (H. Milford). 7s. 6d.

History of Early Iran. By G. G. CAMERON. Pp. xvi + 260. Chicago: The University Press, and Cambridge University Press, 1936. 13s. 6d.

Mr. Cameron's most useful book is not well named, for the true subject is the political history of Susiana, and the task is very ably performed. The volumes of the *Délégation en Perse* and the *Mission en Perse* provide plentiful material which Mr. Cameron has arranged, treated with historical acumen and illumined from the records of neighbouring countries. In matters concerning early Oriental history many different views are possible, and not all that Mr. Cameron says will be generally accepted; the importance he attributes to the Kassites and the date attributed to Gudea of Lagash may be cited. But such differences will not affect the value of his work, which is an invaluable guide through a complicated labyrinth. Susa is, however, remote from Hellenic studies, and the chapters in his book which may concern readers of this Journal, namely VIII, 'Indo-Iranians in the Zagros Mountains,' X, 'Median and Persian Chieftains' and XII, 'Medes and Persians,' are by no means equal in value to the rest of the book, partly because they rely on sources which Mr. Cameron has not studied so intensively as the Elamite texts. Mr. Cameron ends with the conquests of Cyrus, but the chapters mentioned inevitably invite comparison with Professor Herzfeld's first Schweich Lecture.

Herzfeld knows Iran so well, has corrected so

many errors, has pondered so long upon the problems of its history and archaeology, that he has convictions of great interest to state, forcibly but, in this book, without the full reasoning. His work is, characteristically, difficult to estimate or to criticise at present, because it is dogmatic, and written from a personal point of view. Linguistic and artistic criticism are united with observations on history and religion, in an arresting and exciting, but provocative compendium. It is to be hoped that it will attract attention to recent developments in the study of early Iran; it may repel some scholars because it sometimes confuses new facts and doubtful inferences. Here I propose to draw attention only to a few points of interest for students of Greek archaeology and literature; but it should be noted that lecture II, 'The Hellenistic Period,' and lecture III, 'The Sasanian Epoch,' contain much of importance for the student of Eastern development or decadence after Alexander.

Philologists will be interested in Herzfeld's dating of the Aryan invasion of the region east of the Caspian Gates, Khwar, Old Persian *hwara*, mentioned in an inscription of Esarhaddon which speaks of the mountain *Patušarri*; the Pateischoreis of Strabo XI, iii, 1, as has long been recognised. This is compounded from *patuš* and *hwara*. Herzfeld apparently considers it unquestionable that the Assyrian form is derived from *pati-swata*, a supposed Aryan form, whereas Cameron and, I suppose, most other scholars consider *patuš*—*patuš* and *arri*—*hwara*. Herzfeld infers that Khwar was occupied by the Aryans before the differentiation in language of the Indian and Iranian peoples, and dates this occupation to about 900 B.C. That assumes that the form *Patušarri* became known to the Assyrians in the ninth century though first used in the seventh, which is, I think, unlikely. Esarhaddon mentions a chieftain in this country, Shidirparna, which Cameron rightly equates, as a name, with Chithrafarna, Tissaphernes.

The Assyrian relief depicting the Mannaean city Mušasir, south of Lake Urmia, elicits some interesting comments for the architectural student. 'I have dwelt much on this description because this temple of Mušasir is almost the exact picture of a Greek temple with all its essential details, long before there was anything like it in Greece. I want to draw attention also to the contrast between the profane buildings with the flat roofs and the sacred one with a gable; the same distinction prevailed in Greece and Rome until the time when the deified Caesar was honoured by the Senate. . . . The only monumental example of a gable in Iran is the tomb of Cyrus.' But in this connexion we should

remember that little models of gabled houses occur in the early painted pottery strata of Mesopotamia; we may suspect that its occurrence was more sporadic than Herzfeld's ingenious theme allows.

Even more important for the history of architecture are the rock-tombs mentioned by Herzfeld, pp. 39 ff., (1) near Seripul, (2) at Sahna between Kermanshah and Hamadan, (3) Fakhriqa, south of Lake Urmia, (4) Utaqi-Farhad, on the road from Seripul to Luristan, (5) and (6) in the district Surdash, in 'Iraqi Kurdistan. The characteristic feature of these tombs is the portico, fully cut out of the rock, with Ionic columns bearing roof-beams similarly carved on three sides. Two of the tombs, nos. 1 and 5, have carvings in relief representing human figures, in Persian dress, but with unusual features. Herzfeld considers these tombs Median, and points out that the column capitals are merely variants of wooden capitals found still in rustic buildings in the district. Cameron also considers the attribution of these tombs to early Median rulers (that is, presumably, to the early seventh century) probable. If this is correct, the form of these capitals with the palmette decoration between the volutes deserves attention in handbooks on Greek architecture; but I must confess that tomb no. 5 seems to me of much later date.

The student of the history of religions will turn to the discussion of the burial customs in the Achaemenian period and the rise of the Zoroastrian religion, pp. 37 ff. The evidence afforded by the personal names Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, which are ethical in character as opposed to ethnic or ritual names, and an inscription of Darius is used to shew, convincingly I think, that these three kings were Zoroastrians, 'and the only true ones.' They introduced a change in the burial customs, in that the rich furniture and the treatment of the body with wax, mentioned respectively by Aristobulus and Herodotus, were abandoned, and the royal body, though placed in a rock tomb, was left without its earthly treasures. The practice of exposure, mentioned by Herodotus, I, 140, was restricted to the Magi. 'Near Persepolis a considerable number of tombs have been discovered of private people, some cut into a vertical rock like royal tombs, or in isolated boulders, others hollowed into the horizontal rock, always closed by large slabs.' The strength of the Magi seems dependent on the eastern provinces, and one cannot help wondering whether the practice of exposure was influenced by the practice of India in early times.

The two authorities differ widely on the poli-

tical geography in early Achaemenian times. Both agree that the district *Parasus* south of Urmia mentioned by the Assyrians derived its name from the Persian people before they moved south. But Cameron denies the identity of Anshan or Anzan with *Parasus*, Fars, which is for Herzfeld established, and will not even admit that the Parsumash ruled over by *Kurū* who paid tribute to Ashurbanipal, Cyrus I, can be Fars, since Aryaramnes, his brother, calls himself king over *Parasus*. This hypothesis seems to me hopelessly confused and I much prefer Herzfeld's view: 'The two titles of Cyrus I, Aryaramnes and Darius' title "king over, in *Parasus*," Cyrus II as "king of Anshan" or "of *Parasus*" in the Nabu-maid tablets all mean the same southern land.' In that case Aryaramnes succeeded Cyrus I.

The two books are indispensable for any who wish to study the origins of Persia, just before the outbreak of her age-long struggle with Mediterranean powers.

S. S.

Denkmäler Palästinas. By C. WATZINGER. Vol. 1, Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Israelitischen Königszeit. Pp. 117; 40 plates. 1933. Vol. 2, von der Herrschaft der Assyrer bis zur Arabischen Eroberung. Pp. 168; 40 plates. 1935. Leipzig: J. C. HINRICHS. 16 m.

This is a very valuable book. The archaeology of the Near East is a tangled and baffling subject and any student of it, most of all if he is a beginner, will be grateful for a guide such as this, the result of a very wide learning and experience. Professor Watzinger does not give undue prominence to the unimportant, he writes lucidly, on the whole, and summarises and selects well. Where he offers his own observations, they are of the greatest value and interest, notably in the field of architecture, where he is especially at home. His reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon seems to be not only the best hitherto offered, but to be entirely convincing. His treatment of that of Herod, on the other hand, suffers from the smallness of size and inadequacy of the map which illustrates it. There are glimpses to be caught of many interesting unpublished researches by the author which we look forward to seeing, for example in reference to the influence of Alexandria as the source of many of the features of Greek art which met and mingled in Palestine with others of Oriental origin during the Hellenistic period. In view of the fact that excavations are now being energetically prosecuted in all parts of Palestine, it is inevitable that many details stated in this book should now have become out of date, yet in spite of this it

has already won its way and established itself as a standard handbook, since it filled a want and acquitted itself well of the task. The author contrives to relate all the scattered materials, whether sarcophagi or triumphal arches, to a single scheme, by judging them in the light of the value of their contribution to the whole. He thereby avoids presenting us with a dry catalogue of sites and digs, and manages, on the contrary, to make much that seemed unimportant to the uninitiated appear interesting as it takes its place in the whole. Several subjects also appear to receive here their first scientific study as a group. On the other hand, some other small subjects—coins, scarabs, and pottery—appear to be somewhat cursorily treated, but this is to be greedy. Perhaps a later edition will alter 'Oktogon' back to a more correct spelling. For the rest, we can only hope that someone may be induced by the success of this book to fill another want by writing a similar work on the monuments of Syria.

R. D. B.

Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica. By BUNGIO PACE. Vol. I, I Fattori Etnici e Sociali. Pp. xvi + 503; map, and 194 illustrations in the text. Milan: S.A.E. Dante Alighieri, 1935. 35 L.

This work is intended as the archaeological complement of Holm's *History of Sicily*. Only the first volume has yet appeared. This is a general study of the races, culture and economics of the inhabitants of Sicily from prehistoric to Roman times. It is to be followed by a volume on the 'Arts and Artists of Sicily,' and another on 'The Barbarian and Byzantine Periods.'

As a preface to the first volume there is a history of Sicilian studies from the Middle Ages till to-day, chiefly interesting for its admirable illustrations, which show the development of technique in publishing antiquities. The volume as a whole is divided into two parts, of which the first is devoted to the peoples of Sicily. Of the four chapters, that on prehistory is the most important. By a distribution map of Sikel finds the author proves that the accepted sequence of four Sikel periods does not represent the whole truth. He shows how the culture of the second and third periods occurred only in a few areas affected by contact with the Aegean, and that the culture of the first period survived scarcely modified in most of Sicily beside the later ones. Profiting by recent studies on the latest phases of Mycenaean pottery, he has been able to bring the date of the second Sikel period down from the fabulous antiquity of Orsi's theories to the tenth or ninth century B.C. His attempt to divide

Sicani and Siculi archaeologically is less satisfactory. The remaining three chapters of this section are devoted to Greek colonisation, the relations of Greeks and Sikels and Sicily under the Romans. Although these chapters contain much valuable material, they suffer from a tendency to put the history of Sicily and the Sikels in the best possible light: the author would like us to believe that the Sikels learned no more from the Greeks than the Greeks from the Sikels. He would have us forget that Sicily was nothing if not provincial, and despite the evidence of Strabo he endeavours to rehabilitate Roman Sicily.

The second half of the book contains studies of particular aspects of Sicilian civilisation, under such headings as the Structure of Society, Products, Manufactures, Communications and Economics. Archaeological and literary sources are brought together, and the place of the activities in Sicilian life is estimated. Much scholarship has been spent on this section; and it makes good reading; it loses something, however, by a discursive treatment of material which would be better tabulated, and which in a work of this nature should endeavour to be complete. The section on communications is the best presented.

As a whole, the book is very welcome; it is the first comprehensive work on ancient Sicily which incorporates the magnificent results of the last fifty years of excavation. The author's command of both literary and archaeological material is remarkable. One could wish, however, that the book were more concisely written, and one deplores the author's high-handed manner with authorities which contradict his theories. We are told (p. 109), for example, on the strength of a passage in Columella that when Thucydides (VI, 2, 5) says some Sicani lived in South Sicily, he means that they lived in West Sicily, because to him Lilybaeum was the most southerly point of the island. Though the reader will find this book a learned and helpful commentary on all that relates to ancient Sicily, he may feel that the author has applied too strictly his own maxim (p. 60) that 'history proper is the reconstruction and above all the interpretation of facts.'

D. F. A.

Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen. I, Die Ruine. By E. FIECHTER. Pp. 93; 12 plates, 32 illustrations. **II, Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus.** By R. HERM. Pp. 59; 10 plates, 16 illustrations. **III, Einzelheiten und Baugeschichte.** By E. FIECHTER [with sections by H. BULLE and K. KÜBLER]. Pp. 91; 25 plates, 96

illustrations. (Parts 5, 6, and 7 of *Antike griechische Theaterbauten*, a publication of the Leipzig Forschungsinstitut für klassische Philologie und Archäologie.) Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935, 1935, 1936. 6 m., 6 m., 7 m.

These instalments of Fiechter's invaluable series are of peculiar interest, for they deal with the mother of all theatres. All the remains have been measured afresh and the plans and sections are entirely new. No more can be attempted here than a simplified indication of the more important conclusions.

Fiechter accepts the existence of the early circular orchestra detected by Dörpfeld, but he argues forcibly that the piece of wall which Dörpfeld thought part of its actual circumference is only a supporting wall. Originally no building stood between this orchestra and the old temple of Dionysus: the first to be erected there was the long building, south of the skene, which is in contact at its west end with the temple. Fiechter for the first time dissociates this building, which he calls the skenothekē, from the skene proper: the skenothekē, whose north wall is also a retaining-wall, he assigns to the last third of the sixth century, the skene proper to the age of Pericles. It should be clearly understood that the absolute dates of everything between the old temple and the fourth century depend on the literary sources: Dörpfeld, with no obvious archaeological impropriety, originally assigned skenothekē and skene together to the activity of Lysurgus. The *sequence*, however, including the priority of skenothekē to skene, does rest upon the interpretation of material evidence.

The skenothekē was at first a store-house of properties. Its north wall formed the background of the pre-Aeschylean drama: it had one large central door, in front of which projected a platform, of the width of the old Dionysus temple, which may have carried temporary structures of various kinds. The orchestra touched the north wall of the skenothekē, and the platform encroached upon it.

Before 500 B.C. grooves were cut in the north wall, which indicate the erection of a temporary wooden skene in front of the skenothekē: its timbers, with those of the spectators' seats now coming into use, were presumably stored in the skenothekē. Fiechter, arguing back from the later stone skene, assumes that this wooden skene had projecting paraskenia at each side. The sketches in figs. 32-34 of Heft III give alternative possibilities for its form, which may have varied from time to time, but hardly anything is directly known of this structure, the most intriguing of all, since it was the skene of

Aeschylus. The orchestra was now shifted northwards.

The Periclean stone skene is almost equally uncertain. It was wider and deeper than its wooden predecessor, and it had paraskenia, but the restoration of its superstructure depends wholly upon analogy with other theatres, all tolerably obscure. Between 338 and 324 Lysurgus remodelled skene and paraskenia, using marble for the first time; he seems to have reduced the paraskenia from two storeys to one. The old skenothekē now became a stoa, open to the south, and disconnected from the theatre. The orchestra was again shifted north, to its present position. The stone seating of the auditorium was begun about 500 B.C., and was still incomplete under Lysurgus.

In the second century B.C. the paraskenia were remodelled and set back, and a marble proskenion, with complete columns, now connected them. The work was hasty and the material reused, but this material did not come from a dismantled choregic monument (as Bulle, who thought the proskenion post-Sullan, suggested), but from the remodelled Lysurgian paraskenia.

The damage of the Sullan period was soon repaired, but under Nero the theatre was completely remodelled on Roman lines. Its later vicissitudes, which are carefully analysed, need not be described here.

The second Heft, which was the first to appear, discusses the dates of the marble sculptures so conspicuous on the site to-day. While emphasising the difficulty of dating Imperial sculpture in Greece, Herbig feels safe in assigning the reliefs of the bema to the middle of the second century A.D., and suggests that they were originally placed high up on some unidentifiable building. He is inclined to place the free-standing figures in the same period, but admits that they may be Neronian.

All three Hefts are carefully printed, but 'o A' for 'a A' in the first line of § 7 on p. 91 of Heft I is a confusing slip, and it is tiresome that the wall called 'J' in the text of the same Heft (pp. 12-14) appears as 'MQ' on the plans.

D. S. R.

Olympia. Aufgenommen von WALTER HEGE, beschrieben von GERHARDT RODENWALDT. Pp. 61; 94 plates, 34 figures. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1936.

Herr Hege's name is rightly put first on the title-page, for this book is a triumph of the photographer's art, to which Dr. Rodenwaldt's text can hardly be more than a commentary.

The photographer has caught the quiet

charm of the smiling Olympic landscape in the five-and-twenty views of the site and surrounding country, and has trapped, so far as his black-and-white medium allows, the glory of the Greek sunlight. Yet it is in the museum that the artist has best shewn the sureness of his taste and his skill in bringing every modern device to help him to secure an exquisite and varied lighting, together with a softening of shadows and a neutral tint of background that allow to every subtlety of form its true value.

It is pointed out in the preface that, through the courtesy of the Louvre authorities, fragments in Paris have been added to three of the metopes. We notice, for instance, parts of Herakles' left leg and the bull's near fore-leg on Plate 72, and Atlas' knee on Plate 74.

Dr. Rodenwaldt gives an adequate sketch of the history and growth of the sanctuary, and discusses briefly the architectural and sculptural remains, avoiding the controversial. Thus we note that Apollo is still Apollo, that his creator is still unknown, and that the Hermes is still the actual work of Praxiteles.

J. P. D.

Au Musée de Delphes. By P. DE LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE. Pp. vi + 503; 50 plates, 20 figures. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1936.

This solid volume treats in very close detail of two sets of Delphic sculpture—the Sikyonian metopes and the Siphnian frieze.

We are shewn how meticulous study has not only proved the Sikyonian origin of the metopes, but has recovered the exact dimensions of the mid-sixth-century building to which they belonged, and, moreover, has even discovered the exact positions of four of the subjects on the building, though the material has only survived through being used in the foundations of the Treasury House that Sikyon erected at the end of the sixth century. This is the most impressive part of the book, though the close study of the subjects and style, both of the Sikyonian metopes and the Siphnian frieze, is of great value to the history of Greek art.

In style, as in subject, the metopes are shewn to be truly local, the product of Sikyon under the Orthagoridæ; while we are given reasons for supposing that the artists who worked on the Treasury of Siphnos about 525 B.C. came one from the neighbourhood of Clazomenæ and the other from some island centre.

The numerous illustrations are well chosen, particularly the vase drawings with which the author illustrates his detailed arguments, but the book is worthy of better collotypes.

J. P. D.

Milet. By T. WIEGAND. Band III, Heft 5: **Das südliche Ionien.** By A. PHILIPPSON. Pp. 31; 2 plates, 1 map; and folding map **Ionien, südlicher Teil** (1-100,000) by K. LYNCKER. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1936.

The latest fascicle of the *Miletus* series is a publication of Lyncker's survey of southern Ionia, including the district from Ephesus to Didyma. In his preface Wiegand explains that the survey, made in 1908-9, was originally intended to include northern Ionia up to Smyrna; and we can only regret the reasons which caused so laudable an enterprise to be left incomplete. To the map Philippson appends in 31 pages a description of the area covered, divided into four sections—the Maeander plain, the land south of the Maeander, the land between the lower Maeander and the Kayster, and Ephesus and the Kayster. We trust that the future will give opportunity for an equally detailed and orderly treatment of the northern area.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of Sixth Season of Work, October 1932-March 1933. By M. I. ROSTOVITZ, A. R. BELLINGER, C. HOPKINS, and C. B. WELLES. Pp. xx + 518; 54 plates (of which 4 in colour) and many cuts in the text. New Haven: Yale University Press, and London: H. Milford, 1936.

We have grown accustomed to expect much from the Reports of the Dura Expedition, and this fat volume worthily continues the tradition established by its predecessors. Of some sixteen sections, two immediately claim attention as of outstanding importance. Perhaps the more dramatic is the recovery of the traces of the actual siege operations which led to the final fall of Dura—the shafts driven by the Persian assailants under the towers of the city, the countermine dug by the Roman garrison, and the finding of the skeletons and armour of those of the latter who were cut off and slaughtered in the countermine. It is a grim addition to our knowledge of ancient warfare, all the more convincing from the business-like brevity with which the course of events is reconstructed. Among the armour found are a wooden legionary *scutum*, the painted decoration perfectly preserved, and several scale horse-trappings, which lead to an interesting excursus on horse-armour in ancient times. The second outstanding feature is the Synagogue with its painted walls, around which a whole literature has already gathered. The architectural history is described in detail; the account of the paintings does not profess to be more than an introduction to the subject, and the problems

they present are merely outlined; but even so, this preliminary account of them runs to more than sixty pages. The remainder of the volume deals mainly with domestic buildings: several sets of baths, and private houses, some of them adapted for military purposes or as quarters for the Roman garrison. Once again, there is a rich harvest of epigraphical material, several parchments and papyri, and other finds, among which the remarkable mural paintings of hunts and feasts on Plate XLII must not be forgotten; they alone would be sufficient to make the season memorable, though here they are quite overshadowed by the wealth of material from the Synagogue.

An Approach to Greek Sculpture: an inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge on 17th May, 1935. By A. J. B. WACE. Pp. 52. Cambridge: the University Press, 1935. 2s.

Professor Wace, approaching Greek sculpture in the light of modern practice, reminds us that sculpture is still a living art and that its main problems have not changed. He begins by recalling—and indeed it is his main theme—the ancient distinction between four processes, carving stone, casting bronze, modelling in clay or similar material, and chasing metal (though 'torciture' covers more than our 'chasing,' and must not be regarded as equivalent to 'caelatura' everywhere in Pliny), and states, what seems obvious when stated but is constantly overlooked, that not every sculptor excelled or was fitted to excel in every process.

This ancient classification must be challenged on two grounds: first that it is not adequate by modern standards of criticism, second that it does not represent the view of the time when the greatest sculptures were being produced. A marble statue can be produced either by direct carving or by making a preliminary model in another material and translating it into marble; the preliminary model may be of different size from the finished statue, and even merely a sketch. In this sense modelling can be—as Pausanias said—the mother of carving, and since the translation even to-day can never be fully mechanical, the sculptor must be proficient in handling both materials. Modelling is the mother of bronze statuary in another sense: a first model, whether of clay or wax or wood, is essential; it must be of the same size as the finished statue and executed in considerable detail; but the casting process, *i.e.* the making of a mould from this model and the pouring of bronze into it is a craft rather than an art. But as a sculptor must be able to carve

stone, so a statuary must be able to chase metal, for no bronze comes perfect from the foundry.

A better, because fuller, classification would be:—

(1) Direct carving in stone or other material.
(2) Direct modelling, *i.e.* modelling in clay for baking, the clay becoming the finished statue.

(3) Modelling, by hammering, of bronze or other metal already cast into convenient shapes and sizes. This will include not only certain geometric bronzes, but also statues like those lately found at Dreros—*σφουρητο*.

(4) Modelling in some plastic material (or carving, if the first study is in wood) followed by translation into stone, ivory, wood, etc., the translation being an artistic process.

(5) Modelling in some plastic material (or carving, if the first study is in wood), followed by transposition to bronze or other metal, the process being partly mechanical (casting), partly artistic (chasing and inlaying).

((4) & (5) will cover the making of the component parts of chryselephantine statues, and of the metal adjuncts commonly used for statues and reliefs in other materials.)

(6) The assembling of statues—chryselephantine, acrolithic, etc., from elements produced in any of the above ways.

It will thus be seen that bronze is apt to have a 'plastic character' (p. 13) not simply because the preliminary model was in clay (which may equally well have been so with a marble statue), but because the process of translation, in so far as it is mechanical, automatically preserves the character of the clay. It will be seen, too, that chryselephantine statues are not simply 'examples of metal chasing' (p. 4), but involve a number of difficult processes—(6), (5), (4) and possibly (3), above. The artist ought to think in terms of his final material or materials, whatever intermediate stages there may have been. This is what most modern sculptors claim to do and what Professor Wace would like the Greeks to have done; but the evidence does not support him. Hence my second point. How far did the sculptors of the classical age—most of them long dead when the critics wrote—recognise a distinction of style corresponding with a difference of material? And if they did, what of those of the sixth and early fifth centuries? The principle was then recognised hardly, if at all. The pedimental sculptures of Aegina could be copied direct into bronze without artistic loss; yet they are successful as marbles. So could the 'Strangford Apollo,' the 'Fair-haired boy,' and many others; and this surely means that 'the perpetual freshness and spirit of untiring confident youth' does not come because

'archaic sculpture was conceived as stone and marble and executed direct in that material'—much of it was not. It comes, anyhow in part, from a quality of mind which liked pattern, and precise detail; had confidence, and definite ideas to express, and would thus often cut marble as sharp as it would go without breaking. Many of the korai of the Acropolis are covered with a mass of minute detail which would excite the horror of a modern sculptor by its 'unsuitability' to marble. These details are not necessarily derived from bronze; or, if they are, shew that bronze was popular, not only for statuettes, well before the end of the sixth century.

Further, I am not sure that many of the Olympian sculptures would not look very well in terracotta—they were probably pointed off from clay models, as W. remarks (not, of course, full-sized models); but others of them would look as well in bronze as they do in marble, possibly better; the same is true even of some classical works, e.g. the Barberini Suppliant; while certain terracottas would look equally well in bronze. Thus it appears that the Greeks, by which I mean not the Hellenistic critics but the actual sculptors of earlier times, did tend to 'treat cast bronze, stone, and marble, modelled clay and chased metal as interchangeable materials.' In short, excessive preoccupation with material is a modern phenomenon, alien from a great creative period; unrecognised by the Egyptians, who plastered diorite with stucco, and by the Assyrians, who painted alabaster with vermillion. Three sketches of the same subject by one artist—three signatures as it were—with brush, with pencil, with pen—are different each from each, but can readily be compared: their common and most important factor is the personality of the artist, even though his ability to use each of the three media varies. Material, and technique, i.e. the ability to use material, are the vehicles—servants, not masters—of the sculptor's idea, however much he may learn of their nature and beauty in the working.

¹ Non ex ebore tantum: si marmor illi, si adhuc viliorum materiam obtulisses, ferisset quale ex illa fieri optimum potuisset. We should not then be diffident, as W. would have us be, of comparing bronzes with marbles, a comparison which he does himself make most usefully (p. 26), and rightly emphasises the influence of one on the other.

His survey of the relative popularity of the various materials at the different periods, and the effect which these materials eventually had on style, is illuminating, and his remarks about the growing commonness of the use of models most suggestive, especially in the

matter of architectural sculptures. His explanation of the Hermes at Olympia, that it is a marble version of Praxiteles' composition, carved in his studio after a cast of a clay model so designed that it would be a suitable subject either for bronze or for marble, is a possibility, and a worthy attempt at compromise, but it does not meet all the objections that have been raised against the statue as an original of the fourth century. Nor can Pliny's words '*Venerem marmoreas illi suae per terras inclitae patriam*' be strained to mean that the Aphrodite of Cnidian type was executed both in marble and bronze.

Some smaller points: 'The probability that wood was also used must be taken into account.' This is too strong an under-statement; it is fairly certain that Pausanias usually means a wooden statue when he speaks of a *ξύον* (Frazer's note to I, 3, 5 can hardly be challenged except in details: he also mentions the numerous kinds of wood which are used for sculpture, VIII, 17, 2). The head in Boston (p. 18) can hardly be called one of the earliest hollow-cast bronzes: it must be many years later than the 'Daedalic' head at Karlsruhe with which it is grouped. The argument (p. 26) that the kore on the base inscribed by Antenor is wrongly placed there because he was a bronze-worker, is fallacious; for whatever statue stood on that base, it was pretty certainly not a bronze. If 'the decoration of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi must have been designed by some one artist,' he certainly nodded when he came to the pediment.

I have criticised this comparatively short book at length—perhaps unfairly, since in a lecture detailed supporting arguments proper elsewhere cannot be expected. Professor Wace has approached the subject from a new angle, and has made a number of stimulating suggestions. I hope he will by this be stirred to amplify them.

B. A.

Die Plastik der Griechen. By E. BUSCHOR. Pp. 122; 100 illustrations. Berlin: Rembrandt-Verlag, 1936. 6.50 m.

Greek Sculpture. Edited with an introduction by D. C. WILKINSON. Pp. xxii; 104 plates. London: Chatto and Windus, 1936. 5s.

These two books are both intended to serve as introductions to the study of Greek sculpture, and the text is but a commentary on the illustrations by which they must be judged; though we guess that Mr. Wilkinson aims at a rather younger public.

It is perhaps no matter for surprise to find a wide divergence between the two men's choice

of examples. Out of the hundred only twenty-six are the same. The English choice is the more conventional, for Buschor will often illustrate a period by a minor work, and as a general rule eschews the Roman copy. Hence we look in vain for him to shew us the art of Myron, Polyclitus or Lysippus. This in itself is a good trait, yet it needs the expert's touch to sketch convincingly the growth of the whole tree when such branches as these are omitted.

To this Mr. Wilkinson does not pretend, whose 'letter-press is unimportant and serves only to supplement the plates by giving a brief history of Greek Sculpture.' His choice too has been hampered by the desire to shew the 'better-known works.'

Yet it is not so much for the selection or for the letter-press that the German work is to be preferred, as for the superiority of presentation. It is not that the half-tone blocks are better, but rather that the German photographs are superior, and especially so because as a general rule they avoid the dark background, which destroys the value of shadows and makes the marble look flat.

J. P. D.

Dedolica. By R. J. H. JENKINS. Pp. xvi + 95; 10 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1936. 7s. 6d.

By *Dedolica* Mr. Jenkins means a group of objects produced during the seventh century B.C. at four main centres—Corinth, Rhodes, Sparta, and Crete. These objects have a strong stylistic affinity, although the distant centres are connected by little more than a flimsy racial bond. They are called *dedalic* because of the traditions about the sculptor Daedalus and his school. Most of the material consists of clay heads, but the author discusses related stone statues at the end and finally in appendices the *dedalic* figures of Rhodian jewellery and of Etruscan bucchero. Mr. Jenkins divides his *dedalic* style proper into early, middle and late, and subdivides middle *dedalic* again into three stages, the whole running from 670 to 620 B.C. It may be argued that the smaller chronological divisions, e.g. middle *dedalic*, second phase, 645–40 B.C., do not mean very much, and Mr. Jenkins might have been wiser to have left out the chronological label. The evidence for absolute chronology is surprisingly weak and one cannot help wondering whether more could not have been made out of the heads plastic and painted on proto-Corinthian vases. Otherwise there is little to criticise in this admirable study. The statement that 'Geometric plastic art is [fundamentally] realist, individualist and non-formularistic,' is

startling until one sees that it applies to heads alone. Mr. Jenkins has done an excellent piece of work and all students of Greek sculpture will be grateful to him for shewing them the lady of Auxerre, Cleobis, Nikandra and others not as isolated works but in their setting.

T. B. L. W.

Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis: a photographic Catalogue. By HUMFRY PAYNE and GERARD MACK-WORTH YOUNG; with an Introduction by HUMFRY PAYNE. Pp. xiv + 75; 140 plates. London: the Cresset Press, 1936. 30s.

When this book was first proposed, the intention was to supply illustrations to the catalogue undertaken by Dickins for the British School at Athens in 1912, and to add in a short text references to publications and discoveries made since that catalogue appeared. But it was impossible for Payne to dabble; and in a determination to clarify his own ideas on the problems involved, he undertook the formidable task of reconsidering as a whole the archaic free sculptures of the Acropolis—and inevitably much archaic sculpture elsewhere—of dating them and of establishing their relationships with one another.

When the evidence is fragmentary, the risk of being later proved wrong is naturally considerable; but I doubt if grounds will ever be discovered for questioning any but a few of the many decided expressions of opinion which the introductory essay contains, for these are based on delicate sensibility, deep thought, and wide knowledge. With new discoveries modification or addition may be needed here and there, but little alteration.

The method is explained in the second section of the preface, which contains an authoritative statement of the value of establishing relative and absolute chronology, and a penetrating analysis of the spirit of archaic art. The essay which follows begins with an examination of early Attic style. There is an excellent study of the Moschophoros (can it really be that a current handbook still describes this statue as 'coarse and rough'?) and of the damaged torso of a kouros which has, except from Schrader, received less attention than it deserves. The close relation between the Dipylon head and the Gorgon (Pl. I.) is rightly stressed: the Gorgon is later, and it has the grandeur of a colossus; indeed, a constant effort is required to remember how comparatively small it really is. A group of Attic sculptures of the middle of the sixth century is next isolated: the head no. 654, some years before 550 B.C., the Rampin head in the

Louvre about mid century, and the kore in the peplus, of a decade or so later. Few will be found to dispute the claim that these are works of the same sculptor; the comparison, once made, convinces. The Rampin head was an important piece outside Athens which obviously had to be linked up with other early Attic sculpture; Payne did so conclusively by fitting it to a horseman on the Acropolis itself, and then added the muzzle of the horse from among the fragments—a finely-carved piece which shews keen feeling for structure and adds much to our understanding of the sculptor. The turn and inclination of the rider's head, now that it is once more set on its own body, give point to the lively expression of the face, and mark an attempt—new to this type of statue—to bring the horseman into relation with the spectator. The wreath, almost certainly of oak, is now thought to be a victor's crown; the use of oak for this purpose at the Pythian Games has the authority of Ovid, who, however, does not mention the horse-race; and we may also in this context recall, without being able to judge its source or worth, a rather confused passage in Pliny's *Natural History*, XXXIV, 19 'illi (the Greeks) celetas tantum dicabant in sacris victores, postea vero et qui bigis vel quadrigis vicissent.'

Another Attic statue dated just after mid century is the kore of Lyons. I refrain from recalling in detail past studies of this fragment, which shewed how subtly its Ionian character contrasted with the Attic style of the fragment from the Acropolis to which Payne has now joined it. These are the errors of subjective criticism to which all are liable; is it too much to hope that even learned societies and French handbooks of sculpture will now abandon the title 'Aphrodite of Marseilles,' which enshrines three objective misstatements—that it is a goddess, that it is Aphrodite, that it came from Massalia?

In the study of the Korai we may note, without having space to discuss here in detail, the short but completely satisfactory pronouncement on the problem of archaic dress, the dissociation of the large kore from the base signed by Antenor on which it is at present set, and the decisive arguments for dating the kore herself about 530 instead of, as a product of an alleged 'Attic revival,' some thirty years later. There is, incidentally, a valuable separate essay on her relationship with the pediment at Delphi. The relief of a potter, too, is rightly put back to 530 on the evidence not only of the shape of the cup which he holds, but of the style as compared with that of the great stele in New York. In

the 'Attic revival'—by which is commonly meant a reversion, about 510, to the Attic style of 550, after a period of Ionian domination under Pisistratus—Payne did not believe. In the continuity of Attic style he did: 'in abandoning the brilliant complexities of surface which had absorbed the sculptors of the ripe archaic period, the fifth century looked back to works earlier by two generations, found something congenial in their simplicity, and selected here and there a rendering to suit its purpose. But the late archaic style is not archaistic: its essentials are its own creation, and the apparent "simplicity" of its modelling . . . is the refinement, not the rejection, of the subtleties of the ripe archaic period. It would be quite wrong to speak of a "revival" of Early Attic style in the early fifth century, for what is important in the connection between the two periods could not be revived; and for the best of reasons—it was never dead.'

On the highly controversial question of the relation of Attic and Ionic korai in the second half of the sixth century there is a separate note, admirable in its clearness and balance. Two korai (nos. 504 and 682) are rightly claimed as imports from the East, though they are of vastly different character. 'The difference,' as Payne well remarks, 'between the two is quite a simple one, it is the difference between sawdust and flesh-and-blood.' Two others may also be accepted as imports, both fragmentary; the first a foot (pl. 44)—probably the most beautiful foot in archaic sculpture—and an astonishing piece of drapery, the connexion of which Payne was the first to observe. The surface of the stuff is left slightly rough as a foil to the soft polish of the foot; this should be studied by those who, ignoring the pediments of the Parthenon and the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike, believe the contrast of textures in marble surface to have been unknown to Praxiteles. The close relationship of the second (no. 627, pl. 121) to the kore of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi is an important observation.

Of the korai of the late archaic period Payne suggests that three (nos. 685, 674, 684) may be works of the same sculptor at different periods of his life. The suggestion is made tentatively, and I find it hard to accept, for I cannot believe that a sculptor would be likely to change his touch and his taste in such details as the ears; although I see, when it is pointed out, the community of spirit which transcends superficial differences and even the profound difference between the physical types which formed the models for 674 and 684. One more quotation here may be forgiven: on the kore no. 674

(sometimes called *La Delicata*) 674 is the work of a sculptor who has discovered an interest unknown to the time when "Antenor's" kore was made: an interest in what is essentially feminine, not merely in the surface forms, but also in the structure of the female body. Hence the long and slender neck, the sloping shoulders, their narrowness in proportion to the width of head and hips. Not that the frame of 674 is feeble: it is delicate, rather, the creation of a mind sensitive to something more subtle than the inexhaustible vitality which burns in the figures of an earlier period. And the expression of the face, shy, reserved, and self-contained, is the translation of this physical character to another plane.

It is not clear whether Payne accepted the common attribution of the fair-haired boy and the kore of Euthydikos to the same hand: there are certainly differences between them. I would take this opportunity of adding a third piece, which, though later than either, seems in many ways closer to the kore than to the boy—the mask from Marathon in Berlin (Blümel, *Die griechischen Skulpturen*, K.2).

Lastly, the 'Critian' boy presents a curious problem. As is well known, the torso was originally fitted by Furtwängler with a head of the mid fifth century (no. 699): when the head which that torso now bears was discovered, it was acclaimed as the correct one and substituted for the first, with, it is alleged, a 'touching-surface' between the breaks. But how comes it that the edge of the neck appears to have been systematically chipped away? It can hardly have been done in modern times, for the discovery of the head is recorded, and it was quickly fitted to the torso by responsible archaeologists: and yet the perfect surface of the head itself shows that little damage can have been done in antiquity. A similar chipping of the edge of the neck in the torso is also apparent; but the breaks of the arms, as Payne points out, are, by contrast, quite sharp. His hypothesis is that 'a head from a contemporary statue may have been used in antiquity to replace the original.' Yet it is difficult to conjecture circumstances in which this would be likely to have taken place. Had Payne lived, he would doubtless have established or disproved the actual fit of the break of the head with that of its present torso: and that is the first step in any further approach to the problem. If there is a real join we must suppress our uneasiness at the seeming discrepancy of scale between the two—this, it must be admitted, is also seen in the Naples copy of Harmodios—which may be partly due to damage that the

body suffered when the first head was set upon it and afterwards removed.

I have said nothing so far of the illustrations. There is one bad photograph among nearly five hundred in the book (no. 630, Pl. 8), and even that gives us information we would not be without. What this proportion of successes must represent in labour, patience, and steady co-operation—I take skill for granted, since it speaks from every plate—can have been known only to the authors; but it can be surmised by those who know the exceptional difficulties presented by the colour and lighting of the Acropolis Museum and by the disposition of the sculptures in it.

It might be worth considering an edition with the plates and text bound separately: the text needs the closest attention, and this is apt to be disturbed by constant turning backwards and forwards. An index would be useful: its absence is no doubt to be explained by Payne modestly regarding the text as an essay, whereas in fact it is a reference-book, packed close throughout with information on a variety of problems. Only reading and re-reading will fully bring home the wideness of its scope, the sensitiveness, clarity and force of its thought and diction. It is of equal quality with the best of his work: there can be no higher praise.

B. A.

Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy.

By BERNARD ASHMOLÉ. (Hertz Lecture, 1934; *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. xx.). Pp. 34; 26 plates. Humphrey Milford, 1936. 7s. 6d.

Professor Ashmolé discusses the sculpture of four main centres, Tarentum, Locri, Syracuse, and Selinus. He bases his argument on coins and terracottas of certain provenience, and proceeds from them to sculptures in bronze and stone, admirably stating in his introduction the hazards of this method. He convincingly connects the Tarentine series with Sparta, although the comparison of coins with sculpture is dangerous when so much depends on the eyes and lips, which naturally tend to be over-emphasised on the coin. The comparison of a Syracusan coin with a 'Corinthian' bronze is also convincing (figs. 45-46). But the connection between a Syracusan coin and Acropolis 679 is surely illusory (figs. 35-36). On the seated goddess from Berlin, which was found at Taranto, Professor Ashmolé refuses to pass definite judgment. He suggests Aegina, but rejects it again. The general style, and in particular the treatment of the folds between the legs, has always recalled to me the

stele from the Esquiline and behind that Paros. Professor Ashmole twice hints at Paros, once in connexion with his Locrian group and once in connexion with Selinus. May we hope that he will follow up these hints with a complete classification of Parian sculpture and an assessment of its importance? To the Locrian groups he convincingly adds, as in his earlier article, the Ludovisi and Boston thrones. The bronze from Aderno, the colossal head in the Ludovisi collection, and the Girgenti boy are loosely connected with Syracuse. Does not the tilted eye of the Leontini coins (fig. 41) find an analogy in the figures of the Altamura and early Nubian painter? Professor Ashmole's study breaks new ground and the continuation of his researches should throw much light on a very interesting chapter in the history of Greek Art.

T. B. L. W.

Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture, by R. P. HINKS. Pp. vii + 35; 48 plates. London, British Museum; printed by order of the Trustees, 1935.

This admirable essay is, in the best tradition of the British Museum, not simply a guide, and easily bears comparison with far more pretentious efforts in the same field. The visitor who buys it for use in the Museum must be prepared for some stiff intellectual exercise in the effort to distinguish accurately between impressionism and expressionism; between expressiveness and verisimilitude; between individualised and generalised, idealised, or classicised features; between illusionism and naturalism (verism we are spared); and between objective and subjective realism. With application, these distinctions can be achieved; and, to be just to Mr. Hinks, he does himself know the meaning of such terms—the legacy of much fine writing and confused thinking in the past—and even sometimes defines them. Moreover, the essay becomes clearer after repeated reading; which is evidence of the thoughtfulness which underlies it.

The rise of 'true portraiture' seems to be put a little too late—with Mausolus in the mid fourth century. The satrapal coin shown is valuable if its date can be established, but its claim to be a portrait is far weaker than that of certain Cyzicene coins of about the same period (which are cited but not illustrated); and to upset its claim does not therefore strengthen the argument much; while in the literary evidence (for what it is worth) Lucian's epithet *ἀνθρωποειδὲς ἄνθρωπος* of the statue of Pelliclus by Demetrius, may be set against Pliny's *'nec hominem ex aere fecit sed iracundiam'* of

Silanian's Apollodorus. A pity that room could not be found at this point for a difficult, though important, interesting and highly relevant piece, namely the portrait—one of the finest in the Museum—of an old woman, from Tarquinii (no. 2001): this, if not an original, is a first-rate copy, looks Greek, and may not be later than the end of the fifth century.

I know of no single book where one can find so concisely stated the current views on the problems of portraiture in Italy—on the vexed question of the use of death-masks, on the dominance of 'Hellenistic' style in the official art of Augustus (p. 20, where in the last line read 'latter' for 'former'), on the shape of the bust as an index of date, or on the late antique gaze of the 'human unit' which betokens the 'soul aspiring to leave its bodily encumbrance.'

Here are a few minor questions which leave the main argument unaffected: Can the sand-blasted head of Alexander (no. 1859) be genuine? Is the Blacas cameo of Augustus Augustan? Comparison with coins suggests that it may be of the time of Tiberius. Are 1944 and 1906 really pendants? If so, the dedicators must have been military men with a grudge against Marcus Aurelius. Does the passage on p. 26 suggest intentionally that Pliny was referring to the plastic rendering of eyes and eyebrows? This did not (with extremely rare exceptions) occur until after his death.

The book is illustrated by an excellent and generous selection of large and small sculptures in various materials, of bronzes, of coins, and of terracottas, many of them little known or appreciated hitherto; and it is commendably cheap.

B. A.

Platon, Bildnisse und Nachweise. By R. BOEHMINGER. Pp. 32; 52 plates. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1935. 18.50 m.

A splendid series of new photographs of sixteen heads of Plato, including two unpublished. Each head is photographed from front and sides, and in three-quarter view—sometimes also from the back—and is described archaeologically from first-hand knowledge. The author accepts the common view that these replicas all derive from an actual portrait of the middle of the fourth century, perhaps that by Silanion.

There, then, is the material. It remains to infer from it what the original portrait looked like: some will choose one replica, some another, for few will be expert enough to make a synthesis of features taken from more than one.

Of the fidelity of a copy to the original portrait

the archaeologist is perhaps best qualified to judge, and he will find it useful to have the evidence so luxuriously presented: of the fidelity of the portrait to the man, the philosopher and philologist, for whom also the work is intended. But it would have been kinder to guide them away from some of the replicas which are restored or retouched.

B. A.

Exekias. By W. TECHNAU. 24 pp.; 31 pl. Leipzig: H. Keller, 1936. 28 m.

The ninth book in the series *Bilder Griechischer Vasen* edited by Professor Beazley and Jacobsthal, is the first on Attic black figure. Exekias is the supreme black figure painter, classical and dramatic among his decorative fellows, not a craftsman, but a creative artist. This spiritual quality of Exekias' works, particularly of his Ajax, which makes him a forerunner sixty years ahead of his time, is well shown by Dr. Technau in the present study. His discussion is admirable both when he is treating the vases and *pinakes* of the master himself, and when he collects the works of two pupils of Exekias, whom he names respectively 'the Quadriga master' and 'the master of the birth of Athena.' The former painted the lovely Eos and Memnon in the Vatican, the latter the Geryonomachy in the Louvre with the potter signature of Exekias. I should only criticise certain points of detail. I am not sure that the stylistic advance from the Berlin to the London Onetorides amphora is as great as Dr. Technau maintains: for instance, the attitude of Iolaos on the Berlin vase is not an archaism, but part of the situation—Herakles' friend follows in his agony every movement of Herakles. I doubt the interpretation of the Vatican amphora as the homecoming of the Dioskuri; the whole attitude of Castor suggests that he is going out, and according to one story the brothers shared a horse. Dr. Technau says of the Dionysos on the London amphora: 'Mit schlichter Gebärde empfängt der Sohn die Gabe des Vaters': this does not explain the son's oinochoe—in fact, the son has given the father a drink. But these are minor points. It is a good book, charmingly written, and the plates are excellent.

T. B. L. W.

Les coupes attiques à fond blanc. By H. PHILIPPART. Pp. 89; 34 plates. Bruxelles: L'Antiquité Classique, 1936.

This is a convenient corpus of Attic white-ground cups. M. Philippart numbers them roughly in order of date, but modifies this in listing them so as to keep stylistic groups together.

He provides bibliographies for each cup, copious and as far as I have checked them accurate, and illustrates most of them adequately. These cups have generally been treated as a side-line from the development of red-figure vase-painting—perhaps a correct estimate of their position, but this collection, containing most that has been said about them from that point of view, would make an excellent basis for their study as a class with a development of its own. M. Philippart has attempted something in this direction, but rather half-heartedly. He promises, however, to produce a work dealing with all white-ground Attic vases except lekythoi, and perhaps in that he will go deeper than he does here. Meanwhile he has produced an exceedingly useful book.

One can make a few criticisms of detail. The cups whose only white ground is a plain area surrounding a red-figure medallion (2, 3, 7, 58, 59) might be listed separately; they are red-figure vases and irrelevant to a work of this scope. Pp. 10, 18, 24 ff.; 2 and 11-20 might well have been listed in that order rather than between 26 and 27. A 'Euphronios Group' comprising on one hand the Euphronian cup in Gotha (2) and works attributed to the Sosias Painter (11), the Pythokles Painter (12), the Panaitios Painter (13-19) and Onesimos (20), and on the other works attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter (27-34), some of which are signed *Euphronios*, is an artificial conception, and it is not clear what kind of unity M. Philippart ascribes to it. The Sosias and Pythokles Painters belong to a group centring round the late work of Euphronios, and from this group the early work of the Panaitios Painter derives, but so does the early work of Duris (3-4), while the Brygos Painter (5-10) stands almost as close to the Panaitios Painter as Onesimos does, and much closer than the Pistoxenos Painter. P. 17, no. 8; Cabinet des Médailles 608; these fragments are ascribed by Beazley, *JHS* II p. 54, no. 9, to the Paris Gigantomachy Painter, and he suggests that two fragments by the same painter at Sèvres are from the same vase, and possibly also the fragment Cabinet des Médailles 606 (Philippart, p. 53, no. 36). Pp. 18, 24 ff., see on p. 10. P. 24, no. 2; Gotha 48; on the Pasiades question see further discussion by Miss M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, 1935, p. 291, publishing fragments of a white-ground lekythos, from the N. slope of the Acropolis, inscribed $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\omicron\alpha\varsigma$ [etc.]. P. 29, no. 11; Acropolis 431; Miss Pease, *ibid.*, p. 235 ff., publishes a new fragment which goes with 431a. She dissociates 431b from these and publishes (p. 234) another North-Slope fragment which goes with it; these she is inclined to associate with 429, but envisages the possibility

that 429 goes rather with 431a. Pp. 32, 34, 35; nos. 15, Acropolis 433, 18, Louvre G109, and 19, Acropolis 432, seem to me related rather to the Samos and Boston fragments 25 and 26 than to the Panaitian vases with which M. Philippart places them. Their form of exergue band connects them with the early Duris 4. Pp. 47, 48; the Aegina fragments 30, 31 seem to me less close to the Pistoxenos Painter than to 52, Florence 75409. This group is perhaps related to the "Muse Painter" group, 60-62 (Berlin Inv. 3408, Louvre CA483, 482), and possibly also to 48 (Athens Inv. 2187, c.c. 1844) which recalls Makron. P. 55, no. 36; see on p. 17, no. 8. P. 60; the Boston Phiale Painter's Europa is surely later than that on the Munich cup. P. 61, no. 48, and p. 69, no. 52, see on pp. 47-8, nos. 30-1. P. 82, no. 57, Brussels A891; the bibliography has been omitted here except for a reference to M. Philippart's own article in *Mun. Piot*, 1928, where a bibliography up to that date will be found; add Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, p. 28 ("in the manner of the Sotades Painter"). P. 85, nos. 63-5, British Museum D6, 7 and 5; here also the bibliography is omitted except for a reference to the same article, but M. Philippart proposes to deal at length with Sotades later. Herr Diepolder's *Der Penthesilea-Maler* (Beazley-Jacobsthal 10) appeared too late for M. Philippart to refer to it. Diepolder illustrates nos. 21, Agora P. 43 (pl. 2, 1), 27, Berlin 2282 (pl. 1), 33, Athens 439, (pls. 3 and 17, 2-3) and 34, British Museum D2 (pl. 6), ascribing them to his Penthesilea Painter (= Pistoxenos Painter + Penthesilea Painter).

M. R.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 13 = Sévres, fascicule unique. Musée National de Sévres. By MADELEINE MASSOUL. Pp. xviii + 163; 63 plates. Paris: Champion, 1936.

The Sévres collection does not contain much of great merit, but is large and varied: it is the harder to catalogue because most of the vases are slight things belonging to classes that have been either little studied or little heeded by the mass of archaeologists. We are indebted to Mrs. Massoul for a useful and laborious publication.

Pl. 14, 1-2 and 4-7 are not protocorinthian but Corinthian. Pl. 14, 11, not griffins but griffin-birds. Pl. 14, 14 and 17-18 should be Corinthian not Italo-Corinthian; on the other hand Payne (*NC* p. 177) thinks that the does of the type pl. 14, 21 are all Italo-Corinthian. Pl. 15, 7; not, I fear, a "palaestra-scene, two wrestlers and two runners," but courting, a man embracing a boy and two men dancing round them (see *JHS* 49,

p. 260; *CV* Oxford ii p. 97 on III H e-pl. 3, 23; von Salis, *Thesen* p. 7.). Pl. 15, 8 and 10, by the Edinburgh painter. Pl. 16, 7; by the same hand the Schaeffer oinochoe Schaal, *G.V. Frankfurt* pl. 17 and the Robinson olpe *CV* pl. 37, 1; cf. also the Bologna olpe *CV* III H e-pl. 37, 4. Pl. 18, 1-2; in *JHS* 51, p. 54-5 I suggested (as Mrs. Massoul notes) that these two fragments, the gift of Luyves, might be from the same cup as a fragment in the same technique and by the same hand in the Cabinet des Médailles, 608; Mrs. Massoul, who has been able to compare the three fragments, objects that the white of the Paris fragment is of a different shade; and that the "technique" is different — "il s'agit ici non d'un fond blanc, mais d'une bande blanche placée dans l'intérieur." The first objection is reasonable, although the white may vary somewhat from one part of the vase to another. The second is not so easy to grasp: I had rather supposed the cup to have had both a white-ground picture and a white band—like the contemporary cup Munich 2645 (*FR* pl. 49). Pl. 18, 3-5; the inscriptions are not given exactly: for instance the lambdas are wrong. Pl. 18, 7 belongs to the Icarus group (*JHS* 47, pp. 231-3). Pl. 20, 1-3, 5, and 8; the patternwork outside is not like that on the Boston plate here cited: this is one of a series of stemless cups with lozenge (textile) decoration outside, and often silhouette-figures under the handles: not far from the Sévres vase, one in the British Museum, 1917, 7-26, 2 (exterior, *JHS* 41, p. 135, 2); others, earlier, and of different style, are mentioned in *Att. V*, pp. 413-4, nos. 9 and 14. Pl. 20, 4, 6, and 10 is fifth-century, and is not Attic but Italiote—early Amykos group; cf. the bell-krater in Berkeley *CV* Cal. pl. 56, 1. Pl. 20, 7 and 9 is also a late fifth-century vase: cf. a stemless cup in Frankfurt (Schaal, *G.V. aus Frankfurter Sammlungen* pl. 40-1). Pl. 21, 1 and 3 and pl. 20, 11 is in the manner of Polion and may be a trifling work from his own hand. With pl. 21, 2 and 5 compare the oinochoe of the same shape in Oxford (*CV* pl. 42, 3) and what I have grouped with it in *CV* Oxford ii, p. vii. Pl. 21, 7 belongs to the "fat boy" group (see *ibid.* text to pl. 42, 5, and *JHS* 56, p. 93). The thing in front of the athlete's knees is an aryballos. Pl. 21, 8 is in the same style. With the small hydria pl. 21, 9 cf. Oxford 436 (*CV* Oxford pl. 32, 5). Pl. 21, 11, the well-known trial-piece, is stated here to have a white slip, but I did not notice this. It is said to have been found in Melos, which though possible seems unlikely. In any case it is by an Attic artist of the school of the Penthesilea painter: I have named him the Aberdeen painter and given lists of his works in *CV* Oxford ii, p.

108, text to pl. 52, 6, and in *Campana Fragments* p. 31 on pl. F, B8; see also *JHS* 56, p. 90, foot. Perhaps worth recalling that the trial-piece in Würzburg (Langlotz pl. 217, 495) is by another Penthesilean, the painter of Bologna 417 (see *JHS* 54, p. 91, foot).

Pl. 23, 1-33: most of these are Attic, as Mrs. Massoul has seen: I am not sure from the picture about some of the squat lekythoi (pl. 23, 24-5, 28, 30, 32). Pl. 23, 14 is not Attic but Italiote: it belongs to an interesting group of black vases, very solid and well-made: one of the features is the frequency of dipinti, on lid and receptacle in covered vases: I call this 'the sigma class', after the dipinti on London T521 and Oxford 372: the pyxis CV Providence pl. 29, 4 belongs to it (see *JHS* 53, p. 312). The dipinti on the Sévres vases are both *xai*: the *thiata* given by Mrs. Massoul is simply the usual dot-and-circle decorating the foot. The Cambridge vase she compares is probably Attic. Pl. 23, 17: the reference to CV Oxford pl. 45, 20 is a misprint. A good many parallels are quoted in this section; but the different types of cup, stemless, skyphos, are not carefully distinguished.

Pl. 23, 35: with this bird-vase cf. Maximova fig. 9 and CV Oxford II d, pl. 8, 11: Mrs. Massoul calls it Attic of the Hellenistic period, but it appears to be East Greek of the sixth century: I do not feel clear about the goat pl. 23, 34, but it may go with the bird. The vases on pl. 24 are said to be "of Hellenistic style and uncertain fabrics." Pl. 24, 1-3 is placed correctly. The three vases found at Volterra, pl. 24, 4, 9, and 11, and the kantharos pl. 24, 12, are Etruscan: cf. the vases from Monteriggioni (*St. Etr.* 2 pl. 30-2) and, from Volterra like the three Sévres, *Mus. Dismissionum* pl. 126-7. Pl. 24, 5 and 7 are fourth-century Attic; pl. 24, 6 is Attic Hellenistic; pl. 24, 8 is Attic of the late fifth-century or the fourth (see CV Oxford, text to pl. 40, 3); pl. 24, 10 is also Attic. Pl. 24, 13-25 are Hellenistic all right, but pl. 24, 26 seems to be Corinthian of the fifth century, and perhaps also pl. 24, 27-28. The seventy vases on pl. 25, all from Cyrenaica, are called "Hellenistic," and some of them are, but others belong to the fourth and fifth centuries; most of the black vases are Attic import. I can't go through them all, but make a few remarks: pl. 25, 2, see on CV Oxford, pl. 48, 13; the 'cup with foot and no handles' pl. 25, 8 looks very like a *lekanis*-lid: pl. 25, 22, and pl. 25, 29, in the references to CV Oxford read 65 for 45; pl. 25, 38, read pl. 48, 3, 6, and 44.

In the Etruscan bibliography we miss, among other things, Mingazzini's *Vasi Castellani*. The town near Chiusi (pl. 26, 1 and pl. 28, 7) is Sarteano.

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Pl. 32 brings us to a mysterious fabric which is a great favourite in the *Corpus*—"Attico-Italiote." Three vases on this plate are Attic:—pl. 32, 10, 12, and 23, fourth century; pl. 32, 22 and 24, late fifth century; and pl. 32, 19, fourth century, the same 'fat boy' style as pl. 21, 7 and 8, q.v. I am not sure about pl. 32, 21 and 25, but I think it is Attic. All the rest are typical Italiote. The things in the field on pl. 32, 19 are not basket and balls, but discus and aryballos.

Pl. 33-36 are Apulian, as Mrs. Massoul says: but it is a pity to separate the vases on pl. 33 ('Apulian influenced by Attic') from those on pl. 34-37 ('local Apulian'), for the style is the same. Pl. 33, 4-6, 'open' diptychon is a slip for 'closed,' and so also on pl. 37, 1 and 3. Pl. 34, 4: Bendis is not an Asiatic goddess; the doubtful object is a Pan-pipe. On pl. 34, 4, pl. 35, 9, and elsewhere, the usual Apulian Eros is called 'hermaphrodite' or 'androgynous,' but unjustly: he wears kerchief and bracelets, but that is not sufficient to lose him his sex. Some of the vases on pl. 40, such as 12 and 15, 22 and 26-8, seem Apulian and not Campanian; and so on pl. 41 (2-3; 5 and 9; 10 and 14). With pl. 41, 10 and 14 cf. CV Lecce pl. 29, 1. On pl. 43, 7 and 9 seems Attic not Campanian, 21 and 23 Apulian; the six vases pl. 43, 30, 32, 33-35, 37 and 39 are Attic. The negro-head pl. 44, 7 does not look very like the vases with which it is compared: cf., perhaps, Giglioli *L'Arte Etrusca* pl. 281, 2.

Pl. 46 is devoted to vases with decoration in added colour. The most interesting of them, pl. 46, 1 and 5, belongs to the group of the Praxias vase in the Cabinet des Médailles (913: see Rumpf in *AM* 48 pp. 24-30 and *AA* 1925 pp. 275-7, and is much later than 'the period of experiment in red-figure and of Nicosthenes and his successors.' I read the inscription as *Ανδρονειξ* and did not notice the small letters inserted between the two last letters in Mrs. Massoul's facsimile. On Cabinet des Médailles 914 I read *EROTO*, retrograde.

The vases on pl. 47 and 48 are all Gnathia, with five exceptions—pl. 48, 18, 20, 21, 34, and 35 are Attic.

Pl. 49-51 bring us to another favourite category in the *Corpus*: 'style campanien à couverte noire, dit de Cumes.' It seems still to be thought that most black vases, especially if they bear impressed decoration, are Campanian. We do indeed hear that 'specimens were also made in Greek countries,' but should not gather from this that any such specimens appeared on pl. 49-51—or that the vase with impressed decoration, as we know it from the second half

of the fifth century onwards, was an Attic invention. On pl. 50, 1-12, 15, 18, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33-35, are Attic; 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32 if not Attic are Apulian; the Campanian vases are but three—13 and 20, 14 and 17, 16 and 21. Pl. 51, 2 is Attic, cf. Cambridge *CV* pl. 41, 40 from Cyprus. The clay of pl. 51, 4, recalls the Sigma group.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Pologne 3; collections diverses. By E. BULANDA and K. BULAS. Pp. 97; 33 plates. Cracow, Polish Academy, 1936.

The third Polish instalment of the *Corpus* contains the lesser collections in Poland, and completes the Polish contribution. The vases in Wilanów, Lwów, Lublin, and Łańcut are described by Prof. Bulanda, the rest by the able author of the first two fascicules, Dr. Bulas.

Warsaw, Binental, pl. 1: the article in *Met. Mus. St.* is by A.D. Ure.

Warsaw, Archaeological Museum. The alabastron pl. 1, 10 is Attic, I think, of the fourth century, rather than Ionian of the sixth. Pl. 1, 14, lekamis, not pyxis? Pl. 1, 19 kantharos not skyphos, see Jacobsthal and Langsdorff *Schnabelkannen* p. 62.

Wilanów, Branicki. Pl. 1, 4 is Chalcidian, cf. Louvre E801 (*Rumpf Chalk V.* pl. 92, 52). Pl. 1, 5, the foot missing. Pl. 1, 8, Washing painter or near. Pl. 2, 1 is Attic not Apulian, belonging to the 'fat boy' group, see my review of the *Sèvres Corpus*. Pl. 4, 2 is also Attic. Pl. 3, 9 is Paestan. Isn't pl. 4, 14 a lekamis-lid? Compare the *Sèvres* review, on pl. 25, 8.

Poznań, Muzeum Wielkopolskie. Pl. 4, 1 may be Attic.

Poznań, Ruxer. Pl. 2, 16 is not Italiote, I think: it belongs to a class of squat lekythoi of various forms, many of them found in the Western parts of old Greece; whether they are Attic, or a local fabric as has been suggested, I cannot make up my mind.

Wilno, Society of Friends of the Sciences. On the negro alabastra pl. 1, 3 see also *JHS* 49 p. 51 and Fraser in *AJA* 1935.

Wilno, University. The krater pl. 3, 21 is not Cumæan, but Attic, by the painter of London F4: cf. Louvre G522 (*CV III H c* pl. 5, 4-5), and *Notizie* 1934, p. 187.

Lublin, Sekulowicz. 13: The picture must be a modern copy after the drawing of Berlin 1865 in Gerhard *A.F.* pl. 63.

Łańcut, Potocki, Pl. 1, 3, oenochoe by the painter of the Bowdoin box. Pl. 1, 4, neck-amphora: by Hermunax: the foot is modern. Pl. 4, 5, pelike: seems to be by the painter of

Munich 2335. The lost Hamilton vase Tischbein 1 pl. 5 is very like and should be by the same. Cf. also Passeri pl. 50. Pl. 1, 8 is Attic not Apulian.

It is a pity that the backs of vases are not all reproduced.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Italia 11—Museo Campano 1. By P. MINGAZZINI. Pp. 24; 50 plates. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935.

The present volume is devoted entirely to the Campanian vases in the Museo Campano at Capua and publishes almost all of them. Most of the vases are admittedly rather indifferent or unimportant pieces, but there are exceptions, some of the vases being of decided merit and interest, notably the Ixion amphora (Pl. 19), the Bellerophon hydria (Pl. 9), the Boreas hydria (Pl. 14)—which is not quite so near in style to the Asteas krater in Madrid with the Madness of Herakles as Mingazzini thinks—the Cassandra amphora (Pl. 22), the centauiromachy amphora (Pl. 23) and the amphora on Pl. 20 with a doubtful subject, probably, as M. suggests, the departure of Bellerophon from Proitos and Sthenoboea.

The text is brief and to the point. M. does not attempt to grapple with the problem of assigning vases to one or other of the local fabrics of Campania (of which, as yet, little is known, only those of Cumæ and Abella being well attested), though he notes when different vases belong to one stylistic group and adds apposite comments and references. The name *stula* for the shape of the vase illustrated on Pl. 27 (Text, p. 12) is perhaps misleading; the French call it *amphore à étrier*, and bail-amphora is probably the best English equivalent. Misprints are few; Tyl-liard for Tillyard on p. 11; Pl. 21, 1 and 4 instead of 2 and 3 on p. 7 and *vice versa* on p. 16.

The plates are disappointing, though the fault appears to lie more with the reproductions than with the original photographs. Many could easily have been improved, and some are so bad as to make the vases illustrated on them worthless for study purposes (e.g. Pl. 18, 2; 27, 3; and most of the vases on Pls. 42-45); the practice of squaring the top and sides of a hydria, as on Pls. 7-9, is not one to be commended.

The vase illustrated on Pl. 9 and those on Pls. 20, 4, 23, 3, 33, 5 and 50, 12 belong to one group, seemingly the work of a single hand, not strictly Campanian in style, but most probably Paestan under strong Campanian influence. With them goes a number of vases found at Caivano (*NSc* 1931, pp. 577 ff.), and a full discussion of the whole group will be found in *Paestan Pottery*, pp. 84 ff. Pl. 17, 7 is a vase with

figures applied in red, so also Pl. 37, 3 (cp. Madrid 579; Leroux, Pl. 54) and 45, 1; they are probably Campanian, but should hardly be included in the present classification with the ordinary r.f. vases. Also, why are the vases here classed under the heading IV Er when those of exactly the same style in the B.M. and elsewhere come under IV Ea? This merely adds to the difficulties of a reference system already complicated enough.

The last half of the 50 plates figures only minor vases, mostly typical products of late fourth-century Campanian manufacture (the *kytyle* 75-80, Pl. 40, 5, seems early Apulian of the Lecce style) and their appearance can be described only as forbidding, though they are of great value for the study of the later phases of South Italian art, and it is extremely convenient to have them all within the compass of a single volume of the *Corpus* and not, as is more usual, divided between several. Dr. Mingazzini is to be warmly congratulated on providing us with so useful a repertory of the style and shapes of fourth-century Campanian vases.

A. D. T.

Les Terres Cuites Grecques. By J. CHARBONNEAUX. Pp. 24; 88 plates. London: A. Zwemmer, 1936. 211.

M. Charbonneau aims to give us a general view of the development of Greek sculpture illustrated in terracottas. These, as he truly says, form a far more complete series than either marble or bronze, but we have only to take a period like the late sixth and early fifth centuries, where we have a great number of marble originals, to see how unreliable the terracotta series is. Still, M. Charbonneau's selection is not bad from that point of view, though he might have given more space to the seventh and sixth centuries and less to Tanagra and the Hellenistic period, which occupy more than half the book—the Eros and Aphrodite types 63-80 contain a good many virtual repetitions. The individual examples are often well if sometimes rather sentimentally chosen, but M. Charbonneau's enthusiasm seems greater than his subject deserves. It is true that Greek terracottas sometimes have more of the spirit of the great sculpture with which they are contemporary than do Roman copies in marble, but to suggest that they can almost take the place for us of the first sketches of great sculptors is to misrepresent their nature. They are mass-production pieces made in moulds, which were obviously largely the works of minor artists, and their beauty is of the reflected kind which minor art in a great creative period often shews. One might as well say that

Marcantonio's engravings could take the place of Raphael's drawings. There are, of course, exceptions. The mould of the beautiful sphinx-head acroterion 21 was the work of a fine artist, but such pieces are rare. Greek terracottas, however, are often very charming, and this quality is well brought out. M. Sougez' photographs are clear and well reproduced, but the tendency to black backgrounds and direct lighting is a great mistake. The Hollywood moonlight effect of 54-5, 74, 86 and others is unforgivable, and the attractive and well-posed 59 deserves a less dramatic light; others are excellent, e.g. 80. The presentation of the donkey 91 is agreeable, but that of the Eroses 56 is a poor idea ill executed, and somebody might at least have covered the numbered bases.

M. R.

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Volume I,

Part II: The Newnham Davis Coins in the Davis Collection of Classical and Eastern Antiquities, Marischal College, Aberdeen. Pp. iv + 14; 14 plates. 15s.

Volume II: The Lloyd Collection: Parts V-VI. 12 plates. 12s.

London: published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, and Spink & Son, 1935, 1936.

The fourteen plates devoted to Aberdeen give an excellent idea of a typical collection of good moderate quality, not including many coins of great note, but reasonably well represented in most fields. Even in a limited collection like this, the marvellous wealth and variety of Greek coinage forces itself on our notice, as we survey, in turn, bronze of Nemausus, tetradrachms of Rhegium, decadrachms of Syracuse, drachms struck by the Carthaginians in Italy and Spain during the second Punic War, didrachms of Thebes with Boeotian shield, owls of Athens—old and new style, staters of Alexander, tetradrachms of the Seleucid and Pergamene kings, bronze of Antinous at Alexandria and an enigmatic scene of a sacrifice on a bronze of Trebonianus Gallus at Alexandria Troas. As Mr. Robinson reminds us in the introduction, the collection has its rarities—such as the obol of the Lycian dynast Zaga (?)—and the re-appearance of a number of these, which had been lost to view, will delight the heart of the student.

The Lloyd collection continues to unfold its noble series of treasures to our view. The man-headed bull of Gela appears in the almost frisky attitude of an earlier tetradrachm and in the stately dignity of the forepart on the later. There is a glorious series of Apollo heads from Leontini, a grand specimen of the Dionysus and

drinking satyr of Naxos, in the earlier style, and a notable series of Selinus, including many of those fascinating types of disputed meaning which the late Dr. Lloyd himself did so much to elucidate. Other coins are of historical rather than artistic interest—such as the rare bronze of Galaria, Hipana and Petra and, we may perhaps add, the silver series of Messana. Some of the coins of Himera—notably the famous Πάρος-Ἰσπρὸν tetradrachm—have elicited annotation on a scale more generous than the usual, an innovation justified by the exceptional importance of the coins and, we trust, to be repeated on similar occasions. The free access that is now becoming possible to this wonderful collection is a boon for which we may all be grateful.

H. M.

Inscriptiones Graecae: Vol. II et III, editio minor. Pars III, fasc. prior. Ed. JOHANNES KIRCHNER. Pp. vii + 362. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1935.

The rapid progress which is being made in the issue of the second edition of the *Attic Corpus* is due in no small measure to the indefatigable industry and the practised skill of that veteran scholar, Johannes Kirchner, who more than thirty years ago gave us his invaluable *Prosopographia Attica*. The year 1931 brought us a fascicule (Pars II, fasc. 2) of well-nigh 500 pages, containing the *catalogi nominum* and the *instrumenta iuris privati*, and 1935 has enriched scholarship with this further instalment comprising the *dedicationes*, *tituli honorarii*, *tituli sacri* and *aedificiorum tituli*, together with important *addenda* and *corrigenda* and an indispensable table of concordance. Yet despite the rapidity of its production, there is no sign of any falling off in quality: it is marked by the same meticulous accuracy as its predecessors, though it will, no doubt, like them, afford not a final resting-place, but a starting-point for fresh and fruitful progress in historical and epigraphical studies. One more fascicule, that containing the epitaphs, awaits preparation and publication, and this, together with the necessary indices and *fasti*, will bring to completion this monumental work. The present instalment comprises some 2460 inscriptions, of which over 200 are here published for the first time. Dedications made by public and private bodies or by individual magistrates and victors or other dedicators, together with inscriptions from statue-bases, other honorary inscriptions and sculptors' signatures form the great majority, but the smaller classes of sacred laws, oracles, etc., and of inscriptions engraved on seats in the Dionysiac Theatre also contain much material of interest. In form this part

carries on the tradition of those which preceded it, save only that in the editing of the texts the new 'Leyden system' of brackets, clearly explained in the preface, is followed.

M. N. T.

Die Stele von Xanthos¹: I. Metrik und Inhalt. By F. W. KÖNIG. Pp. 151. Vienna: Gerold & Co., 1935. 10.50 m.

Dr. König's book on the stele of Xanthos is only the first instalment of a longer work, and can only be judged provisionally. He begins rather surprisingly with an elaborate study of the metre of that part of the inscription which is generally believed to be in verse, and in an archaic dialect. He may quite possibly be on the right scent in the matter of the scansion, but he is certainly ruthless in his handling of evidence which seems to tell against his theories. For this reason he is induced to alter the accepted rendering of five Lycian letters in a way from which he might otherwise well have shrunk. Thus the letter which is believed, on apparently sufficient evidence, to be a vocalic *n* (generally written *ñ*) is changed into *ā*. Yet, to take only one example, the word *ααβς*, found in an early Greek epitaph, would be an exact rendering of the Lycian *miñti* (pronounced *mindī*, since *nt* always turns to *nd*), but a singularly inexact one if the native word was really *miñti*. In seven other examples the transliteration is equally far from the original, and there seems to be no valid reason for the change. In the case of the other four letters, the alteration appears to be no less arbitrary.

On another important point, Dr. König has been tempted to force the evidence. If, as is commonly believed, the name of the king who erected the Xanthian stele was recorded at the beginning of the fifth line of the Greek epigram, all of it that can now be read is . . . ις. Here he gives a retrospect of his past achievements, in the course of which he boasts that he slew seven Arcadian hoplites in one day (no doubt with his own hands). If, as seems to be implied, he was, when the epigram was written, an elderly man, this exploit may have happened a good many years before 410, the approximate date of his tomb. Dr. König ingeniously compares the account by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, I, 2, 3) of a raid in Lydia, in 410, by a force of Athenians. While they were scattered in search of booty, the Persian Stages, *πρὸς ταῦτα πρὸς χροίαν ὄν*, (presumably 'living about those parts') with the help of the cavalry took one of them prisoner,

¹ In consequence of the reviewer's lamented death this notice has not received his revision.

and killed seven. He did not, apparently, kill them all in single combat, and there is no reason to think that they were Arcadians. The coincidence is not so very surprising. It would be far more so if the historian spoke in such a way of the King of Lycia at the very height of its prosperity. The author, however, is so convinced of the identity of these two men, that he introduces *Ἰάγρις* into the lacuna in the epigram, in spite of the fact that his name has to be altered to *Σάγρις* to fit the metre. Even so, there is no corresponding word in the Lycian text, unless we can agree with Dr. König that the Greek *Ἰάγρις* is correctly rendered in Lycian by *Ode*. Though attention has here been called only to conjectures which might be misleading, the book will be found to contain others which are original and suggestive, and no doubt many more will be contained in the second part of the work.

W. G. A.

Apophoreta Gotoburgensia, Vildmo Lundström oblata. Pp. 447. Gothenburg: Stadsbibliotek, 1936. 15 kr.

This well-produced Festschrift deals largely with Latin studies, but the following articles should be of interest to Hellenists: Otto Lagerkrantz, *Grekiska i Tunis* (Modern Greek); Ernst Nachmanson, *Galenos' Epidemikomentator*; Hjalmar Frisk, *Grekisk och der egeiska substratet*; Ingemar Düring, *De Athenaci Dipnosophistarum indolis atque dispositione*; S. Lindström, *En nygrekisk parafras till Pseudo-Pythagoras Dicta Aurca*; Turc Kalén, *En grekisk lantbruksord*.

Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien, und Isaurien. By H. SWOBODA, J. KEIL, F. KNOLL. Pp. 247, 1 map, 1 plan; 74 architectural drawings and many text illustrations. Bruenn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien: Rohrer, 1935.

This slim folio contains the results of a journey undertaken by Messrs. Juethner, Knoll, Patsch, and Swoboda, in 1902. Knoll is the only one that has lived to take an active part in editing the work of the four travellers. Swoboda's MS. on the epigraphic harvest was ready in parts, and is quoted by Keil, rarely with complete approval. These extracts confirm the impression derived from Swoboda's elaborate article on *καὶ* in *Real-Enzykl. Suppl. IV.*, which is a great store of material collected with the utmost diligence, without plan or order, where there is laid up almost every useful fact, if one can find it; the subject is difficult and vast, and no one can fairly blame the writer, who has not found a guiding thread.

Often I fretted at the delay in publication; it seemed unfair to intrude on the realm that the travellers had made their own, or to visit Isaura Palaia, much as I longed to see that picturesque and wonderful land. Especially the courteous letter that Dr. Juethner sent me before the Expedition started made me loath to trespass. Now I feel, from the occasional specimens of the travellers' interpretations printed here, that it was good fortune which delayed the publication of these inscriptions until Dr. Keil undertook the task through friendship for one of the dead travellers, as I understand. The Preliminary Report by Juethner (which he kindly sent me at the time) contained the cream of the results and exhibited their work at its best; for naturally he laid most stress on the few inscriptions which brought this almost unknown land within the range of familiar ancient history, and admitted of being treated like the epigraphy of the Greek or west Anatolian memorials.

One cannot praise too highly the patience and skill and many-sided investigation involved in this toilsome work. Austrian scholars have made themselves the best interpreters of Asia Minor through its epigraphy; and stand almost alone in eminence as exploring scholars publishing their own gains. Dr. Keil has employed all that skill and learning in publishing the work of others.

There is, of course, a certain loss involved. The editor of the inscriptions has not seen the places, and we miss the personal touch. He has had to work with squeezes and photographs, and drawings and the notebooks of others. The drawings were not intended for publication, but as a help to the memory of the travellers; but their simplicity makes them more valuable, as I venture to think. Knoll's drawings especially are true to the spirit of simple enjoyment of a rustic peasantry like the Anatolian. Some of them which are only mentioned in the text might have added to the value of the work as an interpretation of the rude Anatolian mind.

Consciousness of this want of intimacy with details and scenery has made Dr. Keil specially careful in discussing the principles involved in each point; and this makes his commentary more useful as a statement of method in Anatolian research. I have never enjoyed so much, or learned so much from, study of any work of its class; much as I have admired his excellent three Lydian journeys with A. von Premerstein and his work with A. Wilhelm on Olba and the district around (*MAMA III.*).

It will be more useful to add some details from this admirable volume (with a few notes which rise out of the commentary) than to fill a page with mere laudation.

Yonmular, the site of Tiberiopolis Pappa, was identified by Professor J. G. C. Anderson. No. 6 in Sterrett's copy has H, marking this as ην, a device usual in MSS., but very rare in epigraphy. He made some errors (corrected here); but added something.

Kizil Euren is not an ancient site; the ancient town or village, about 3 miles south-west, had a native name hard to render in Greek letters.

No. 1 Keil prints Swoboda's transcript, but rightly discredits it

Κόρη βοή	θη των 65
λας σὺ	Γεόργη σ-
τρατή	δης τ[0]
Χρ[η]στ[0]	

Epigraphically miles Christi is not known to Keil (or me) in Asia Minor. The discord Γεόργη στρατιώτης can be defended by many examples; but it should not be forced into this vow, where text and rational explanation avoid it. The inscription is of the fifth century or later, and Χριστός was not then used by Christians: only Χριστός. Christians adopted it in the second century and even the third from pagan usage; see Blass, *Hermes* xxx., p. 466 on this point. Swoboda's copy can be interpreted Γεόργη στρατιώτης στρατ[0] δ[γ]υμ[0]νος. Strator praesidis was one of the soldiers attached to the officium of a provincial governor (Domaszewski, *Rangordn.* p. 146). This interpretation is hazardous; but it is more faithful to Swoboda's copy than his own transcript. The term strator lasted late. The army is always conservative; and many titles and officers remained from early time in the army long after Diocletian.

Oroandeis, shortened Orondeis, are mentioned by Livy, Pliny, Ptolemy, and in inscriptions; they lived in the mountain country west from Konia, south from Laodicea Ladik, east from lake Karalis; on the south their country merges into Isaurika. The name means Highlanders; orou is mentioned as meaning δ[0] in Phrygian; R and L had almost the same sound in Phrygian pronunciation (cp. Keil on no. 282); hence Olha (i.e. olwa) and Oōpa (modern Ura) are the same place; [O]ureis is the short name of the Oroandeis. The site near Kizil Euren was called by a name which no Greek could pronounce: an Anatolian name like Siñrād, containing two nasalised vowels, and the soft Anatolian semi-vocalic R, and liable to great distortion in Greek pronunciation and spelling: Σινρανδος,¹

Σινρανδος, Σινρανδος, Σινρανδος, Σινρανδος, Simnad in Arabic; r develops between π and γ.

Juethner's map exaggerates much the distance, which is only about 6 hrs., between Konia and Kizil Euren; the exaggeration perhaps is due to his treating his journey as nearly straight, whereas he probably started north (or even east of north). The situation of Konia is deceptive; one gets the idea that the mountains stretch south to north on the east side of the city, about 2 hrs. away, whereas they really stretch S.W. to N.E., and they extend far to N.E. from the city. Kizil Euren is on the northern slope of Loras Dagħ (also pronounced Noras), which is in full view from Konia, as Juethner's map shows it; but on that map Kizil Euren is quite a journey west of Loras.

In no. 245 Keil prefers to take ἀνέβητο in passive sense, but knows no example; it was, however, characteristic of Anatolian Greek to confuse moods and inflexions. Examples occur; one in *Stud. ERP.* p. 309, which is unintelligible unless κριαστό be taken in the sense of κριαστέρα.² Keil suggests here other possible interpretations; but they alter the text, a cheap device to produce anything and avoid anything. People of central Anatolia were like a class of boys at school learning Greek; some inflected rightly, many mixed up moods and tenses and cases; those better educated wrote more correctly, but all were learning a strange language, and very few avoided occasional mistakes. Middle and passive voices were often confused; τίεσσοτο and similar middle forms are used where Greek uses active.

34. at Derekeui-Vasada.

Ζωταδός Ἀνδ[η]τῶ Swob. or [η]τῶ Keil

κηρυξ ἱππιδ[0]ς [ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν?

οὐγγλῶπος ἀτα[τω]νά-

ριος εὐχ[ῆ]ν

κηρυξ = tubicen (Swoboda): cp. *CH.* VI, 3176, 32797 p. 3069.

We prefer Swoboda's reading in l. 1; the dedicator pays his vow to the god as an individual without the legal designation by father. As he makes the vow to Asklepios the vow was probably for recovery from sickness, not for safe return from the army.

On employment of *equites singulares* in the provinces v. Domaszewski *Bonner Jahrb.* 117, p. 35f. A *singularis* as *stationarius* is a new fact (Keil). On *Stationarii* v. O. Hirschfeld, *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* 1891, 26f. and *Verwaltungsb.* 134, n. 3; Lamert, *RE* III A 2213.

41 Ἀνάμωτος for Ἀνάμωτος mit Ausfall des Nasals. It is noteworthy that a sound which is often

¹ Σινρανδος in Hierocles is perhaps corrupt, but probably comes through transposition (from Σιν[0]); θ represents τρ.

² Cases are confused as much as moods in that barbarous text.

inserted where Greek refuses it, was sometimes dropped where Greek uses it.

47. Vasada.

Γ. Ουάλλριος Μοντανός
καὶ Ἰούλιος Πρωμίτι-
βος ἱπποὺς ἀνίστη-
σαν Γρατιή ἀνήμε-
χάρις]

Is this a case of polyandry? Montanus and Primitivus were brothers who served in different corps. Montanus in 68 is hardly the same (Keil), a retired soldier, who became priest: both Montani belong to Vasada, but they were in the same regiment and took the name from the same officer. Brothers who enlist in different *alae* or cohorts get different Roman names.

68 Thunderbolt.

κυρίῳ Δαί | Μήριος Μοντ[α-
κρουσία Ού[α- | γος εὐχὴν

Topographical results are the discovery of (1) Vasada, site and many inscriptions, (2) Amlada, Amblada important historical inscriptions, (3) Kolybrassos (from coins), (4-6) Eruinna, Kotenna (identified by G. Hirschfeld), to which Keil adds the practical certainty of Etenna (7). Mithia is elaborately described, but they did not find the strong castle of Mithia, which furnishes the proof.

Tchait and villages near must probably be the long-sought Dalisandos which struck coins of the Koinon Lycaoniae: it lies west of Isaura Palaia, and its remains mingle with those of Isaura. This Dalisandos of Isaurika is different and far distant from Dalisandos of Isauria. The confusion of Isauria and Isaurika has obscured much history, and affects the very title of this book. The name Isauria had no existence before 138: it was then made a Roman Eparchia; earlier mention of it is scribal error. Isaurika was the country of the tribe Isauri (as Pisidike of the Pisidai).

The expedition never touched or saw any part of Isauria. Isaurika (Strabo, 568) was explored in part, Isaura Palaia very thoroughly, Isaura Nea was not seen and is off their map; but Isaurika with the two *kōmai* Palaia and Nea was far away from Isauria. Isaura was ranked as a city including many subordinate villages and two chief villages (εὐαί); Hadrian made Isaura Palaia a great city, metropolis of Lycaonia Eparchia and of all the *koinōn* Lycaoniae. Before Hadrian Isaurika was part of provincia Galatia; after Hadrian it was part of the large new province called Tres Eparchiae, while Mithia, Vasada, (see Keil on 38), Am(b)lada, Iconium and Lystra remained in provincia Galatia until about 295, when Diocletian included them in his new Province Pisidia (metro-

polis Antiochea), Isaura Nea was destroyed completely by Servilius Isauricus c. 74 B.C., and did not regain importance until about A.D. 260, where it appears mainly Christian.

Isaura Palaia and Nea together constituted a single πόλις, i.e. City and Bishopric; and the Emperors refused to allow either to rank singly as a city. The City-State was Isaura, or Isaurapolis; the latter name is used only four times about 380 to 450.

A fiction has grown in recent years that Isaura was a colonia. This is based on misunderstanding of Peutinger Table and Anon. Ravennas (lists compiled from a Table similar to Peut., with some few details different). The former has Yconio Taspia Isaria on a road leading to [Mopsu]crunis and stopping there; this is a bad representation of a road from Iconio[n civi]tas [Mestia]¹ Pa[r]lais, joining the great W. to E. Via Pisidica (see *Alto*, xxiii. p. 246) at Parlais, and thence merged in the Via from Antiochia Pisidia [Neapolis, Colonia Pa[r]lais], past Isaura, Isaria [Derbe] ad fines [Cappadociae], Laranda, Aquis Calidis, Paduando Fines Ciliciae [Mopsu]crunis in Monte Tauro Adana Mompsistra, which are scattered about this part of the Table. Anon. has Antiochia Pisidiae Neapolis, forking to Papa Iconium Mestia and to Ca, i.e. colonia Pa[r]lais Isauria. A map is needed to make the list clear; many of the names are corrupt or displaced.

Inscriptions and coins prove that Isaura Palaia was not a colonia; it was a metropolis, i.e. a polis of the highest rank; the terms colonia and polis are mutually exclusive.² Roman cives were συμπολιτευόμενοι, i.e., members of the same πολιτεία. In province Galatia, to which Isaura belonged before A.D. 138, there were no Roman negotiantes κατοικοῦντες, with their own conventus separate from the βουλὴ and δῆμος of the πόλις; the Romans in Isaura met in the same boule and ekklesia as the natives; they were all natives to whom civitas had been granted. In Asia provincia there were Roman κάτοικοι in almost every πόλις.

We must regret that Keil has accepted this false usage in restoring a fragment [ord]o co[l]oniae veteris Isauriensiūm, which seems to us impossible in history and in municipal terminology. He misses thus the unique term co[m]munitas, which corresponds to commune,

¹ Mestia in the Table is like the form used by Basil Μηστια: Mithia is a false grecising name.

² When colonia Antiochea became a metropolis, the name colonia disappeared. Colonia Parlais and Colonia Archelais kept the name colonia in Byzantine times, often without any second name.

as κοινωία does to κοινόν, and πολιτία to πόλις, κοινωία in this sense occurs only once in an inscription of Pogle published by Rostovtseff in *Öjh*, iv, Bb, col. 37f.; where the name of the person honoured should be restored Πόλιος Ἀδίας, not Κόλιος; Rostovtseff indicates some doubt as to the name.

The word *communitas* (or *commune*) demonstrates the form of internal administration implied in Strabo's description of Isaurika. From Strabo alone we could safely infer that Isaura Vetus and Nova were a κοινὴ (commune).

I restore the fragment which Keil rightly interprets as dedicated to Domitian

Proposed restoration	Keil
imp. Xi. cos.	imp. Xj. cos.
XI. COs. des. xii	XI. COs. des. xii
CENSori perpetuo-	CENS[p.p. ord]
O. COMMunita	O. CO[l. veteri]
S. ISAVriens	S. ISAV[rien-
in M.	siu]M

The proposed restoration is an epitome of Strabo's account of Isaurika.

The Expedition explored also the south shores of lake Karalis, and found some important inscriptions which escaped our brief visit. They justify Anon. Ravenn. in the name of the village Armataza (Armatazon); but this has escaped notice. The topography of this whole district is now entirely cleared up. Tituassos or Pituassos at the S.W. corner, Colonia Parlais at the S.E. corner, and Iskelesi (Scala) the port of Tituassos. Tituassos which was a union of villages, perhaps a Tetropolis or Pentapolis, one being Tetoua or Titua. Trade gives the clue to this fragment of history.

Knoll's architectural drawings (84) and studies occupy pp. 103-143. On the architecture I am not competent; but regarded as Greek or Byzantine, the remains are not important. Concealed (or half concealed) entrances by a stairway to a hill fortress are a strange feature in several places; an example in a photograph on p. 186. They go back to a primitive period in Anatolia before the art of fortifying a gateway was understood. At Amasia the stairway cut in the solid rock, seems to lead down only to a spring and to have no exit.

Knoll considers that the fortifications of Isaura Palaia were made by Amyntas, and alluded to by Strabo. They go back, as he says, *im wesentlichen auf den Galatierkönig Amyntas zurückgehen*. The expression is enigmatic. He gives no analogies and no reasons. The safeguarding clause is probably used in view of such facts as Sterrett discloses (*Wolfe Exp.*, p. 140, no. 185); he found an inscription 'in the foundation of the city walls, shewing that the walls had been destroyed and

rebuilt at a period much later.' This inscription A.D. 70-79 under Vespasian was not seen by the Expedition.

Hamilton, H., p. 332f., describes the walls as built in two different styles; 'a city rebuilt on the site of a pre-existing town, not growing up by degrees according to changing circumstances,' and again 'that rich and highly finished style of magnificence . . . of a prince who was rebuilding and re-fortifying an entire city.' Part of what Hamilton says might suggest that he thinks of Amyntas's unfinished fortress; but as a whole his account confirms Sterrett's opinion that the foundation of the main walls is later than A.D. 79. Hamilton saw that the Arch of Hadrian is 'built of red and yellow marble' in the same style as the walls; that is obvious also from Knoll's drawings.

Knoll's excellent drawings and photographs seem to me to shew beyond question that the walls were due to Hadrian, who saw the potentialities of this wonderful site and constructed (or ordered) a city, metropolis of Lykaonia, to arise in place of the hasty and unfinished walls built by Amyntas. Isaura Palaia was on the scale of a real metropolis, and struck coins as metropolis in the time of Severus. On these coins Ἰσαύρων is gen. of Ἰσαύρα (Waddington and Hill). In the inscriptions Ἰσαυρῆς denotes the inhabitants of Isaura; Ἰσαυροί was the name of the tribe; but Roman policy developed the tribe as a whole into a πόλις. When Isaura Nea revived as a Christian town it was kept orthodox by the influence of Amphilocheios and Basil, whereas the Isaurians as a whole tended to heresy. Isaura Palaia sought to be a πόλις and to have its own bishop. Perhaps about 390, perhaps a little later, Isauropolis was made an Archbishopric autokephalos.

A second mention occurs in no. 38 of Plotius Romanus legatus praetorius of Galatia under Caracalla or Elagabalus (*cursus honorum*, Dessau 1135, praeterea ignotus), he was tribunus legionis towards the end of century II.

Many remarkable names occur, Σοτῆρ no. 49 bears the name of the Soteira goddess; Arara, one of the commonest female names in Isaurika, is Ἀρούρα, goddess of the fertile earth; in both α takes the place of α or ou, a common phenomenon. Onesiphoros, no. 57, is taken probably from the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thekla, rather than from the Epistle of Paul. Kopita 64 (cp. 9) is fem. of a masc. name Κορῆτος.

¹ Hamilton describes the walls and the arch of Hadrian as built of marble, but this is mere loose popular usage; and he describes the hills (from which the stone was quarried, Sterrett, p. 121) as of 'blue and yellow semi-crystalline limestone.'

(Calder), *Κόρινθος* unpublished in north Lykaonia, *Κορινθίον*.

Personal name connected with tribal or place names are *Ὀρονδης Ὀρονδιανός, Κοζανης* 197; a river Kazanes at Themisonion.

Ἀρραγισσα in 99 is ethnic (Keil rightly); the village name survives also in Anon. Ravenn. In this inscription *Nās*, daughter (and heiress) of Menneas, was married to Menneas, a *θεττός* (adopted son) of Menneas by a common Anatolian custom; the *θεττός* inherited the sacra of the family, the daughter inherited the property. *Σουι* dative is a strange form, perhaps derived from the Phrygian divine name *Saoun* that was grecoised *Σώγον*.

The note on *τιθε[ύ]χης* (217) is well worth reading (as are many others); *πνευπε* 236 is a name of relationship sometimes used (like various others) as a personal name; it occurs in several inscriptions; *π* is for *ev* English *W*; cp. *πνευπός* for *Ὀνυππός*. The note in Keil-Premiersteia *I Reue* 166 needs modification, and so here.

W. M. R.

Hermès Psychagogue : Essai sur les origines du culte d'Hermès. By P. RAINGEARD. Pp. 650. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936. 50 fr.

This large monograph contains much which is useful and omits not a little which would naturally be expected in a work on such a scale. Dr. Raingeard has been at great pains to collect from all quarters mentions in literature of Hermes, especially of his cults, and representations of him in art, including (but it is better to give too much than too little) many monuments of no more religious significance than a modern landscape which introduces a church spire or a wayside crucifix. All this bulk of material he arranges in geographical order to begin with, and then studies one after another numerous features, as the places where Hermes is worshipped, the attributes with which he is associated, the costume his statues wear, and so forth. Finally he proceeds in order to a larger synthesis, and endeavours, as his title suggests, to discover whence the cult came and of what nature it originally was. In general, it may be said that his facts are better than his commentary. Students will find much good material in orderly arrangement in the first half of the book, and have the satisfaction of knowing that they are dealing with a very honest writer, who indicates plainly where his knowledge is second-hand. There are numerous other features, such as the list of the god's titles on pp. 467-79, which will save time and trouble. There is

also, when the writer comes to explain his facts, no small amount of native common-sense, leading often to a negative conclusion, whether in dealing with another's hypothesis or some tentative theory of his own. Whether all the ideas criticised were worth recording, even for the sake of completeness, is matter of opinion.

Nevertheless, Dr. Raingeard is not yet an adequate guide through such devious ways as he has chosen to follow on the track of his favourite deity. Very many passages suggest that he has not yet caught the spirit of ancient religion sufficiently to interpret its phenomena as one has a right to claim that they should be interpreted in our day, when so much good work has been done in that field. Not very many pages fail to show gaps in his reading of modern literature in sundry languages. His etymologies are hardly things to be taken seriously, and his knowledge of the language and literature of Greece is not very accurate. To put, for instance, the Catalogue of the Ships in the sixth century (p. 29) is merely absurd; at the other end of the long history of Hellenism, he ought to know (p. 481) that Lucian did not write the *Philopatriis*; neither Jerome nor Rufinus has a place (p. 600, n. 5) among 'les premiers écrivains du Christianisme,' if, as would appear, *premiers* means first in time. It is now well enough known (p. 100, n. 6) that *τελετή* does not mean 'initiation'; in general, his remarks on mysteries are very amateurish. There are far too many pages like 447, which begins with a mistranslation of Theopompos in Porphyry, *de abst.*, ii, 16 (it is given as ii, 18, but the long list of *addenda et corrigenda* at the beginning of the book puts this right; the text swarms with misprints, and by no means all are included in the list), and goes on with some remarks on the mixture of wine and water in equal parts mentioned by Aristophanes, *Plut.*, 1132 as appropriate to Hermes, founded on the false statement of the scholiast that libations to other gods were all made in neat wine.

For all this and many other faults, the book is of value, and in the hands of a judicious reader may prove suggestive. The author's own opinion, that Hermes is in origin chthonian, is urged not without ingenuity, pp. 535-42, though it seems no great improvement on the one now perhaps most in favour, that he is the *numen* of the wayside cairn marking the boundary of the road or the like. He comes to no definite conclusion (pp. 577 *seqq.*) as to the country of his origin, but may well be right in his opening suggestion, that he is a conflation of many local deities. The arguments for his supersession by St. Michael with which the book closes are of interest.

H. J. R.

Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos: Funde und Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der antiken Astronomie und Astrologie. By WILHELM GUNDEL. (*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung*, N.F., Heft 12). Pp. vii + 378. Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1936. 39 m.

This imposing volume must take its place as one of the fundamental documents for the study of ancient and mediaeval astrology. Its immediate occasion is the publication by the learned author of a neglected and almost unknown MS., Harleianus 3731, now in the British Museum; that it was so long overlooked is doubtless due to what the editor deplores, the absence of a catalogue of Latin MSS. dealing with astrology. When examined and interpreted (and this is what justifies the review of the book in a periodical devoted to Hellenic studies) it proves to be a valuable witness to the contents of a long-lost work which Dr. Gundel reasonably supposes to have lain behind a number of the existing handbooks of astronomy and astrology, a treatise attributed to Hermes-Thoth, written in Greek and of not very late Hellenistic origin. The author or copyist of the MS. seems to have had no knowledge of his subject, or very little, and to have made somewhat casual excerpts from a fuller work; a close parallel to what he gives us is furnished by a French MS., very clearly a very bad rendering of a Latin one, which once belonged to Marie de Luxembourg and is now at Paris (Bib. du roi, franç. 613). It is of the early fourteenth century; the Harleianus was written in 1431.

But through the halting Latin of one source and the heavily Latinised French of the other (one gathers that the would-be translator often contented himself with copying down a word he did not understand, devoutly hoping that it was a proper name) these plainly show fragments neither small nor unimportant of curious Graeco-Egyptian lore, making it regrettable that the editor has not added to his other services to the subject the composition of a brief continuous commentary as an aid to interpreting the mixture of Latin, Greek, Arabic and sheer jargon with which the reader must struggle. What he has done is to give us, at the end of his critical text, 240 pages of learned essays on the main difficulties. Among the interesting facts which emerge are, firstly, that the MS. begins with a list of decans (the signs of the zodiac are each divided into three equal parts, known as *dekanoi* because they consist of ten degrees each; every one of these has its presiding deity, or

rather is that deity) not exactly to be paralleled elsewhere and shewing very distinct though not unmixed native Egyptian influence; secondly, that among the astronomical data furnished is a list of fixed stars (text, chap. 3 of the MS.; comment, pp. 127-199) which is quite wrong for Ptolemy's time, about right for that of Hipparchos. This indicates the early date of the original source, as does the absence of any mention of Rome in the geographical sections, although the three Syrias are spoken of, and therefore we have to do with a recension not earlier than the third century A.D. Other facts elucidated are less novel, but still of much interest, and the essays certainly bring us much nearer to understanding when the ancients began to believe in a developed system of astrology and what it was exactly that they believed.

The reviewer regrets that he is incompetent to offer any detailed technical criticism of the work, and must content himself with pointing out a few trivial matters purely linguistic. On p. 215, Dr. Gundel somewhat badly mistranslates Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.*, where Eudoxos is reported as saying, on the authority of certain priests (who are Egyptian, not Greek), that the souls of Isis, Horos and Typhon are called Sirius-Sothis, Orion and the (Great?) Bear, not the other way about. On p. 221, it is not remarkable that *bailare* is used in a mediaeval document like this for carrying a child, though it would be if the text were of classical date. Ducange gives *baila* as meaning a child's nurse, and *bailare* as signifying *ballotter*. On p. 261, the citation from Manilius (ii, 442) does not prove that he or his authorities had heard of a constellation called Vulcan, or Pthah, but only that he regarded Vulcan-Hephaistos as having the *tutela* of Libra. But slips of this sort are negligible in comparison with the wealth of good information, handily disposed, which is offered. The time when a really complete and reliable history of this strange and long-lasting aberration of the intellect may be written is brought appreciably nearer.

H. J. R.

Problemi del Pensiero Antico. By R. MONDOLFO. Pp. 276. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1936. 15 l.

The chapters in this volume supplement at several points the valuable work already published by the author. The first article deals briefly but suggestively with the development of the doctrine of moral responsibility, insisting on its beginnings in Homer and tracing the emergence of conscience as an ethical principle. There follows a very interesting essay on the relation

between human and cosmic problems in the development of Greek philosophy; in opposition to Jaeger's statement (expressing the general view) that observation of the outer world precedes any theory of human life, Mondolfo contends that the basic thought is justice, a principle found first in the human region, then projected into the cosmos at large. He discusses especially, from this point of view, the *doxa* of Anaximander and the *logos* of Heraclitus. Tracing the development of the concept of *τὸ ἀπείρητον*, he emphasises the influence of the medical schools with their use of ethical terms like *δυσκολία*. Reflection on human problems, he agrees, comes latest in the progress of thought. Another chapter with ethical bearings is a discussion of 'moral conscience in Epicurus'; it is argued that the Epicureans developed earlier than the Stoics the concept of an ideal man as a self-imposed model for conduct.

The rest of the book is given to Eleatic problems. The author discusses Zeno's paradoxes against motion (offering a theory of their interrelation) and against space. He gives some notes inspired by G. Calogero's recent *Studi sull'eleatismo*, praising the work in general, but criticising, for example, the view that Zeno was not under Pythagorean influence. He adds a chapter on the problem of the infinite in Greek thought, supplementing his own recent book by a treatment of the mystical aspect of the infinite and of its place in logical antinomies.

D. T.

Εἰκὼν: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Platonismus. I. Teil: Philon von Alexandria. By HANS WILLMS. Pp. vii + 121. Münster i. Westf.: Aschendorff, 1935. 6 m.

The aim of this volume is to trace some early stages (the author hopes to proceed later to the Neoplatonists) in the development and influence of the *eikōn*-doctrine as characteristic of Platonic metaphysics and ethics. The word *eikōn* itself is carefully and exhaustively traced through its uses, and every possible analogy, in Plato's own writings. Bricker references are given for later Greek language and thought. The author takes Philo as typical of the early adaptation of Plato's doctrine to the ends of religion. To illustrate Philo's work from another side, the Septuagint uses of the key-word are also reviewed, and special attention is given to the conception of *eikōn* used in Hebrew and in Pauline thought. Philo himself is studied in some detail (a useful bibliography is included) and relevant passages are clearly analysed. While his eclecticism is recognised, a strong case

is made for the dominance of Platonic influence in his conception of the *λόγος* as an image of Deity, and of *ὁμοιωσις θεῷ* as the ideal for man. This interesting work is completed by full indexes of references and of passages quoted.

D. T.

Plotinus Schriften. Translated by R. HARDER. Vols. 1 and 2. Pp. xi + 198 and 207. Leipzig: Meiner, 1930, 1936.

In the preface to the first volume the translator expresses the hope that the second and third volumes will be ready in about a year. The second volume took six years to appear. This observation is not made in order to cavil at the delay, but to plead for a change of plan. The method of publication is to issue first the translation itself in five volumes, and then five volumes of notes, which will explain the readings followed by the translator and give 'das Nötigste zur Erklärung.' It would be a great boon if the note-volumes could be issued simultaneously with the volumes of translation to which they refer. Otherwise, it is impossible to come to a just appreciation of Professor Harder's work. The condition of Plotinus' text and the absence of an adequate *apparatus criticus* make exact information about readings more than usually essential; moreover the translator must here be also his own commentator, and we may expect that doubtful points of interpretation will often be settled by a parallel passage adduced by Professor Harder from his intimate knowledge of Plotinus and of Hellenistic philosophy in general. He himself calls attention to these and other difficulties which confront the translator of Plotinus, and explains why nevertheless he has ventured to publish his translation; he hopes to prepare the way for the critical edition, which is so badly needed, and at the same time to contribute to the revival of interest in Neoplatonism to which important work in German, French and English have in the last few years borne ample witness. That he will succeed in both these objects is assured, and his future volumes will be eagerly awaited. The chronological order is followed (and not the arrangement by *Enneads*), and the first 29 treatises are included in these two volumes.

B. S. P.

Roots of the Tree. By CARLETON STANLEY. Pp. 107. London: Humphrey Milford, 1936. 5s. net.

This is a collection of five essays by the President of the University of Dalhousie, Nova Scotia. They are popular in style and presentation, and contain much that is interesting and much that is misleading. The best of them is the

first 'An Ancient Economic Cycle' (750-432 B.C.). It is suggestive, full of those pertinent questions and telling phrases at which only one man on this side of the Atlantic excels. Too frequently, however, the author is carried away by his ingenious parallels: we may accept Sicily as 'the Greek America,' but he should know that Greek colonies were not 'government enterprises.' Surprising, too, are some parallels in the second essay (Greek Science); Xenophanes and Huxley, Empedocles and Goethe. Though he disclaims any such intention (p. 47), the author overpraises Greek science, praises it for the wrong things (p. 48) and gives no credit to Babylon. All through the book he voices his dislike of everything Oriental (in which he includes Stoicism!). The essays dealing with Thucydides, with Lucretius and with Cretan art are full of the same kind of thing. Where did Plato, of all people, ever say that 'the invention of art is always the truest representation of things'? (p. 73). From 1600 to 800 B.C. was, we learn, 'a period of convulsion,' yet even 800 years of convulsions did not blur the straight line that runs from Cretan art to ourselves. Dr. Stanley's enthusiasm is so obvious and his belief in Science and Democracy so touching that it is a pity that he lacks the accurate knowledge and the critical faculty so necessary to the historical essayist.

Public Arbitration in Athenian Law. By H. C. HARRELL. (*The University of Missouri Studies*, Volume XI, Number 1.) Pp. iv + 42. University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1935.

The author of this competent treatise acknowledges his debt to Professor Bonner, with whose conclusions he is in general agreement. In particular, as against Lipsius and others, he holds that the jurisdiction of the public arbitrators extended only to suits falling within the competence of the Forty, and he supports this view in a useful appendix containing a classified list of cases in which there is either specific internal evidence of arbitration or other good reason for presuming that it had taken place. It seems now clear that compulsory arbitration did not exist before the archonship of Eucleides, and that it was introduced for the purpose of preventing congestion in the dicastic courts, but Dr. Harrell goes further, and holds that before its introduction there were no public arbitrators at all, the institution being a development of arbitral functions exercised by the Thirty themselves. It is quite true that evidence for public arbitrators before 403/2 is almost completely lacking, but there is very little

reason to believe in arbitration by the Thirty either, and if Dr. Harrell's view is correct, the reform indicates an enormous increase in the judicial staff available for cases of this sort. From thirty it would have been increased to forty plus about a hundred arbitrators. It is thus more likely that Steinwenter is right in believing that even in the fifth century official lists were prepared from which the parties, if they so desired, could choose an arbitrator. This hypothesis has also the advantage of linking up public with private arbitration, two processes which otherwise seem to have little connection. Indeed, Steinwenter's *Die Streitbeendigung durch Urteil, Schiedsspruch und Vergleich nach griechischem Rechte*, though mentioned in the bibliography, is not quoted in the text, and Dr. Harrell does not discuss the interesting questions of general import in the theory of early litigation which it raises. He also treats very briefly only of the meaning to be attached to the phrase *ἀποκρίναι τῷ δικάστῃ*. It is, as Steinwenter has pointed out, not at all clear that any express acceptance of the award by the parties was really necessary for it to become executory, although Aristotle's words would seem to imply that this was so. In general, however, the work is not only careful and well documented, but an independent summary of nearly all the evidence on the subject and of the chief controversies involved.

H. F. J.

Theocrito: Studio Critico. By E. BIGNONE. (*Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna*). Pp. 388. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1934. 30l.

This is a book of considerable merit. Though apparently intended for a wider public, it contains much of value for the professional scholar. The author accepts as authentic and discusses in varying detail the following poems: I-VIII (on the last he refers also to his brochure *L'Idillio VIII di Teocrito e la sua autenticità* and his article in *Atene e Roma*, 1933, pp. 221-264), X-XVII, XXII, XXIV, XXV, the Aeolic poems, and the Epigrams (in part). The best chapters are the two last, entitled *I Poemetti Mitologici* and *Le Poesie Personali D'Amore*, but the earlier chapters too make a number of interesting points. At times Professor Bignone's appreciation of Theocritus' merits sounds a trifle diithyrambic, and his analysis of the poet's method is almost certainly over-subtle; there is rather too much also of analogies drawn from music and sculpture. But the author's criticism is based on a solid and up-to-date knowledge of his subject, and he has succeeded in giving a new treatment to an old theme. E. A. B.

Pollucis Onomasticon. Ed. ERICUS BETHE. Fasciculus alter, Libri vi-x. Pp. vi + 258. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931.

A word of welcome (though belated) seems due to the volume which completes an undertaking begun as long ago as 1909, and has proved of inestimable value to scholars, who have by now long accustomed themselves to the typographical devices by which the MS. tradition of the work of Pollux is exhibited. A special symbol indicates the fact that S (the Salamanca codex) omits 9.94-109 (not, as wrongly stated in the apparatus, 94-119) without noting a lacuna, and it must be assumed that the same use is intended in 10.63, and other passages. In 9.124 it is indicated that ABCDFS omit *dem*, but this is equivalent to saying that *dem* was not in the text of Pollux, and it is easy to see that he may have left out the word in transcribing Plato, *Laws*, 655c. As in the first volume, corrections of the text are reduced to a minimum. Thus the quotation from Κερτίος το Χάλκοιν (Fr. 234K.) 6.98 is allowed to appear as ἐν τῷ Κερτίῳ Ἡρώσι (sic) 10.64 and Ἰλλυμένος Ἰδούσι (sic) appears in the text of Eupolia (Fr. 48K.) in 9.30; nor is ἀποσώφισα admitted to the text of 7.94, though Herwerden pointed out its occurrence in the immediate neighbourhood of ἀποσώφισα in Herod. 7.57. In all cases, however, the reader will find the necessary corrections in the apparatus. ὁραγίδια for ὁραγίδια 10.38 is the only misprint noticed.

H. S. J.

Corpus Medicorum Graecorum. Supplementum I: Galeni in Platonis Timaeum Commentarii fragmenta. By H. O. SCHROEDER. Pp. xxviii + 112. 1934. 8.60 m.

Vol. V, 10, 1: Galeni in Hippocratis epidemiarum librum I. By E. WENKERACH. **LIBRUM II.** By F. PFAFF. Pp. xxxiv + 410. 1934. 28 m.

Vol. VI, 2, 2: Oribasii collectionum medicorum reliquiae: Vol. IV, libri xlix-l. Libri incerti. Eclogae medicamentorum. Index. By J. RAEDER. Pp. xi + 335. 1933. 22 m.

Vol. VIII, 1: Aetii Amidei libri medicinales I-IV. By A. OLIVIERI. Pp. xviii + 408. 20.25 m.

Berlin and Leipzig: Teubner, 1933.

The editors of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* are continuing the good work on which we have previously had occasion to congratulate them in a review on the work they had so far accomplished (*JHS* L, 373).

These four volumes follow closely the style

and format of the previous editions, each bearing the impress of the person who composed it. They therefore present those inequalities to which we have already alluded, the same absence of unity in the composition of the prefaces, in the critical history of the codices, and in the content and amplitude of the footnotes and annotations. It would, however, be unbecoming to urge as a serious blemish these divergencies and differences in a work otherwise so outstandingly sound and competent. Besides, it may be conceded that such freedom is justified, if it enables an editor to give the full fruits of his industry and research to the work he has undertaken. The preparation and editing of these texts is necessarily a slow one, made none the easier by the economic difficulties in which Germany has been placed since the war. Nevertheless we learn that the work is progressing, and we await with pleasurable anticipation the results of their further labours, particularly in the field covered by Galen's writings, a domain in which their work has been most striking and praiseworthy.

Galen in Platonis Timaeum Commentarii Fragmenta. Scattered through the pages of Galen are several references to his commentaries on the writings of Plato. Of these one large book, *περί τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος ὁρισμῶν*, has happily survived almost complete, another work which he says he wrote in four books on the medical aspect of the *Timaeus* has come down to us only in a very curtailed form, and it is this fragment which now confronts us.

Though familiar to Proclus Diadochus and to the early Neo-Platonists, this work was lost sight of at an early date. An imperfect copy, however, came into the hands of Hunain in a villayet in Mesopotamia, and he translated it into the Syrian tongue, and part of it into Arabic. In this dress it became known to the Arabic commentators, and excerpts from it became incorporated into the voluminous writings of Rhazes, Serapion, and later still into those of Moses Maimonides. And in this way these excerpts have survived to the present day, and have now been recognised and classified by the diligence of German Scholarship.

Another Greek MS., defective in the first and last parts, and representing only the third book, came to light in Italy in the sixteenth century, and Gadaldinus made from it a Latin translation for the second Junta edition of Galen, published in Venice in 1550. This Greek fragment again disappeared until Duremberg unearthed it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, where it was found bound up with five other extraneous treatises.

He published it with a French translation and a critical commentary in the year 1848.

Literary history presents many strange surprises, and the efforts of one editor, Baptista Rasarius, who stood as sponsor for the editing of this book in a Latin edition of Galen printed in Venice in 1562, is not the least of them. Rasarius, though he had never seen the Greek text and was familiar only with the Latin version of Gualdinus in the Junta edition, essayed to supply the missing parts, employing as the basis of his editions the *De Natura Deorum* of Cicero. Indeed he performed this task with such skill and convincing success that for this 'discovery' he won Chartier's unstinted praise, who in all sincerity incorporated these forgeries into his own edition of Galen. This version of the work therefore held the field until the appearance of Daremberg's booklet in 1848.

The present edition is in the main body taken from the Paris MS., in this part the lines laid down by Daremberg are followed. Incidentally, it is pleasant to observe that the work of the great French scholar is accorded the recognition which his scholarship deserves. To these fragmentary remains Dr. Schroeder has now made additions which, though not restoring the book to its pristine form, add materially to its value. In an attempt to rebuild the lost books he has collected and linked together the quotations scattered through the pages of Rhazes, Serapion, and Maimonides, which represent the lost commentaries of Galen. Of these excerpts, twelve come from Rhazes, seven from Maimonides and one is supplied by Serapion. It must be stated that these recovered pieces are separately much shorter than the commentaries found in the surviving third book. And again, in the edition as given by Daremberg there are twenty sections from Plato, in the present work the added sections from Plato number fifteen. It can therefore be realised that, notwithstanding the labour devoted to the task, the restored part of this work falls far short of what the original must have been. Nevertheless, in spite of these inevitable deficiencies, the volume as we now have it has been well worth the labour and research expended on it.

The preface to this work contains an account of the influence which Galen's philosophic writings enjoyed in the times following his death, particularly of their popularity among the Neo-platonists. The favour in which his works were regarded by the Arab scholars and commentators is also made evident by the assiduity with which they cultivated his writings. The footnotes to the text and the cross-references to other parts of Galen's work are very complete,

and the exegetical annotations at the end of the volume are exhaustive; they amply display the learning and erudition of the editor. His wide reading, particularly his familiarity with Plato's thought, has been pressed into service to make this small volume an *opusculum aureum*.

English scholarship too has contributed its part; graceful reference is made to the work of Archer Hind, and he alludes in glowing terms to the 'egregium commentarium' on the *Timaeus* of A. E. Taylor. To say that this small volume is worthy of a similar place in the realm of scholarship is no mean praise.

Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum Libros.

This is an excellent piece of work, an achievement which is obviously the result of much labour and diligent research. This is an attempt, attended, we believe, with very considerable success, to give us a reliable and, in as far as circumstances will allow, an authoritative text of Galen. The editor has achieved this by the employment of two methods: first a complete recension of the most reliable codices, and secondly by his use of the Arabic text of this work, a method not hitherto employed, as far as we are aware, in the preparation of the Greek medical classics.

The account given in the preface of the many existent codices is full and informative. All the codices relating to this work of Galen are of a comparatively late date—in fact none go back to earlier than the fifteenth century. Dr. Wenkebach adduces evidence to prove that they are all derived from a fourteenth-century archetype, and he is convinced that three codices, Monac. Gr. (saec. XV), Paris. 2174 (saec. XVI) and Marc. Venet. 1053 (saec. XV), referred to as M Q & V, reflect most faithfully this lost work.

Of these, M is the most reliable; the text is comparatively sound: there are, however, many lacunae. Q is not so satisfactory, by reason of the many textual deficiencies and uncertainties. V contains a fairly sound text, and it frequently supplies readings which are wanting in the others; it was apparently transcribed by some scholar who was at pains to secure a sound text. Other codices which the editor has thoroughly investigated are Marc. Venet. V. 15, Mutinen. Gr. 211 (saec. XV), and Paris 2165 (saec. XVI). This last codex is historically of importance, for it was one of the MSS. used in the preparation of the Aldine text of Galen. The account of this codex and of others employed for the same purpose make interesting reading, and Dr. Wenkebach pays a graceful tribute to the memory of a worthy Englishman, John Clement, recusant and scholar, one time President of the Royal

College of Physicians and the friend of Colet Linacre and More.

The second means employed by the editor for the restoration of the text is the use of the Arabic version of this book as translated from a Greek MS. in the ninth century by Hunain, the Nestorian physician and scholar of Baghdad. This is a veritable *deus ex machina*. Three Arabic versions now, or did until recently, rest in the Escorial, and a translation into German has been made by Dr. Pfaff. We learn, however, that this Arabic version cannot be regarded as a literal reproduction of what Galen wrote, for Hunain apparently was fond of the flowers of speech. But in spite of this it does seem to reproduce in the main the words and expressions of the Greek writer.

Dr. Wenkebach has exercised extreme caution and care in the adaptation of the Arabic version to supply the deficiencies in the Greek. His studies have well qualified him for this responsible and onerous undertaking. Where the text is incomplete, meaningless or obscure, he has filled in the deficiency from the Arabic retranslated into Greek. These insertions are enclosed in special brackets, and the German version and often the context is given in the footnotes. He also frequently quotes in the footnote a phrase or sentence from Hunain not represented in the traditional text, which often throws a flood of light on the meaning of the passage. Many such excerpts, we feel, might belong very properly to the text. Readers of Galen will recall that this author displays no mean parsimony of words to express his meaning, his style is fluid and ample; all staccato phraseology is therefore to be held in suspicion and to be regarded as a copyist's endeavour to condense. It is, no doubt, a very serious matter to interfere with an accepted text, but we hasten to assure readers of Galen that these emendations and additions are made with great conservatism, and in each case they obviously improve the text, in many places doing so very considerably. And for those who still dissent, there is the reassuring thought that these additions are securely impaled between brackets.

In the second part of this work Dr. Pfaff has presented us with Galen's commentaries on the second book of the *Epidemics* of Hippocrates. Of the six books in which Galen expounded his views on the writings of the great physician, only five appear in this volume; the fifth book has been lost. The remaining books have survived in two Arabic MSS. Codex Escor. 804 and Codex Paris R.C. 5749. This latter, it appears, was arranged by a wandering Scot, David Colville. These are discoveries of a first-class order, for

here we have, for the first time, these works as they come from Galen's pen, allowing, of course, for a certain verbosity with which the Arabs endowed them. Both were written in the early years of the thirteenth century, and are copies of the translation made from the Greek by Hunain.

Presented now in a German translation, this large work, occupying 255 pages of the present volume, is of immense importance to students of Galen, and indeed to all who are interested in the transmission of Greek medicine to the Arabs. It contains, moreover, much material that is useful for the study of the development and progress of Hippocratic medicine in the Alexandrine and Greco-Roman period; for Galen in this work, as he observes elsewhere, treats more critically the writings of his predecessors and contemporaries in so far as they touch on the doctrines of Hippocrates. Moreover, these commentaries are found to be fuller and more ample than those given in the first book of the *Epidemics*.

It is strange that this book should have suffered the fate of a total eclipse as far as European scholarship was concerned, until they have been returned to us at this late date in a German dress. This, however, is probably due to the ingenueness of Galen himself, who, prizing none too highly the value of Hippocrates' second book, observes in his last commentary of the first book of this present work that the study of Hippocrates' second book on the *Epidemics* is not attended with so much profit as that of some of his other writings, because Hippocrates in that work has left us only brief notes on patients, and has not given the decisions and authoritative pronouncements that are to be found elsewhere. For that reason he deprecated the value of his own commentaries on them. Unfortunately, Galen was taken at his word with an all-too-facile alacrity by the physicians who came after him, and in the struggle for existence his commentaries on that rather disparaged text-book receded into an Arabian limbo.

The Greek text of Galen's commentaries on the second book as we have it in Chartier and Kulm is a clever piece of unscrupulous forgery, as Dr. Wenkebach was the first to point out. This supposititious work appeared in manuscript form early in the seventeenth century; the name of the writer is unknown. It came into the hands of Ioannes Sozomen, who published a Latin translation of it in Venice in 1617; a copy of this work is in the British Museum. Recounting in the preface his discovery of this Greek MS., Sozomen with obvious pride and sincerity declares: *Contigit ut dum haec mecum statuo, devenerit ad manus meas superioribus*

mensibus Galeni praestantissimi Medici Commentarius in secundam et tertiam partem Hippocratis, de morbis vulgaribus nunquam vel Graeco vel Latine editus. . . . Further on he states: Cum ex libris Epidemiorum circumferantur primus, tertius, et ceteri deinceps secundo omisso. Hunc propterea crediderim fortasse hucusque suppressum quod mancus et mutilatus extet. . . . And under his authority this supposititious foundling was adopted, and found its way into the Corpus Galeni.

It is perhaps a matter for the breast of some philosopher reflecting on the uncertainty of all human things, to recall that in the long years during which the authority of Hippocrates and Galen held undisputed sway in the medical schools (at least since 1617 in the present case) these books should have been received as part of their mental pabulum by professors of the healing art.

The editors had hoped to print the Arabic text as well, but unfortunately lack of funds prevented this. However, we cannot but think that this loss will be felt by all too few. A complete index of words is promised in another volume, which will contain the commentaries on the third and sixth book of *Epidemics*. This should prove helpful, as the present work, except for a few tentative footnotes, is devoid of any references.

Oribasii Collectionum Medicorum Reliquiae. This volume, edited by Dr. Raeder, follows closely on the lines of his previous editions of Oribasius. The first part of this work contains the *Collectiones libri XLIX* and *I*. The former of these books is found in two codices: Vatican. Gr. 1885 and Laurent. plut. 74, 7. The latter book is found only in the Vatican MSS, where it exists in a very imperfect and mutilated form. A good deal of research scholarship has been expended on this text, notably by B. Faust and F. E. Kind, and the present editor is obviously much indebted to their labours.

The second part of this volume is taken up by what are regarded as the 'libri incerti' of Oribasius. These works were first discovered in the year 1832 by Dietz in Codex Paris. Gr. 2237, where they are found interpolated in the fourth book of Aetius; he concluded, from the style of these writings and from other internal evidence, that they could be ascribed to Oribasius. This codex, it may be observed, is a compilation of selections from various medical authors—Hippocrates, Paul of Aegina, Rufus and Aetius—put together apparently for the benefit of contemporary students of medicine. These 'libri incerti' were published by Daremberg (Vol. IV, Paris 1862), who regarded them as

possibly the representatives of the last books, XXI and XXII, of the *Collectiones*.

Raeder leaves the question of their authenticity an open one; he points out that the evidence for referring them definitely to Oribasius rests on certain presumptions which a closer investigation does not always sustain. He also includes two sections (cap. 28 et 34) in the present work which Daremberg rejected from his edition. It must be admitted that it is very difficult to decide which way the weight of authority lies, for the works of Oribasius are in most part merely diligent compilations from Galen, Rufus, Soranus and other sources. His individuality is betrayed only in the choice and arrangement of his materials, and for that reason his writings are devoid of any especial character. Judged by such a standard, these 'libri incerti' may well fall into the sequence of the *Corpus Oribasii*. Parts of the 'libri incerti' are also found in the codices Paris Gr. 1883, Vatican. Palat. Gr. 199, and in Vindob. Gr. 16; of these the editor has found the last-mentioned the most useful in the preparation of this text.

The third part of this volume contains the *Eclogae*, and for this work Dr. Raeder has relied principally on Codex Paris. Supp. Gr. 446, olim Vindob. Med. Gr. 19 (saec. X). It is now agreed that these *Eclogae* are condensations effected by an enterprising editor of a larger work written by Oribasius, just as his *Synopsis* is a compressed form of the *Collectiones*, a redaction which he himself undertook. Littré demonstrated the relationship that these *Eclogae* bear to the other works of Oribasius. Cardinal Mai edited them from another codex, Vatican 1885, rejecting certain chapters as interpolations. Finally Daremberg undertook a more complete edition of the whole work, using the Paris MS., he too rejected certain chapters, because he thought they more properly belonged to other works of Oribasius. In this present volume Dr. Raeder has edited the whole collection, using as the basis of this work the Paris codex; he has also included the sections rejected by previous editors. This, we agree, is the wisest course, for in these vexed questions of sources and relationships between what is primary and what is secondary, it is safer to proceed on conservative lines and leave to students the task of judging for themselves. At the end of this volume there is an Index which gives the names of the writers from whom Oribasius borrowed, and of those who in their turn quarried from him. This is a valuable adjunct to the complete edition of Oribasius.

Much praise is due to Dr. Raeder for the expense of time and labour which he has devoted

to the study of Oribasius and his writings. This is the third volume to come from his hands, and it can also be said of it that it fulfils all that could be desired of an exact and specialised scholarship. A phrase he uses in recounting his labours, 'cui per multos insudavi,' proclaims the devotion with which he has carried out the task imposed on him. We must also pay a tribute to the Rask-Oerstedean Institute, through whose generosity these works have been published.

Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales, I-IV. This is a fine piece of work and in our opinion Dr. Olivieri has admirably surmounted the difficulties which a multiplicity of codices presented to him. Of these there are some thirty extant, varying a good deal in what they hold, and in the internal arrangement of the subject matter, as well as in the diversity of the readings.

The codices which he found most reliable are Lauren. Gr. LXXV, 20 (saec. XIV); Paris Supp. Gr. 1240 and Vatican. Palat. 199 (saec. XIII). The books of Aetius are particularly unfortunate in the matter of interpolations and disarrangement of their contents. This, of course, arises from the fact that Aetius' works are largely compilations from many sources, Galen, Paul of Aegina, Oribasius and others, and the copyists exercised their fancy in enlarging the readings and in the arrangement of the various sections. Dr. Olivieri has employed corrections and restorations very sparingly. Reference to the various MSS. are very full, and the footnotes giving the relationship of the text to the books of Galen and to those of other authors are of extreme value, though in many places these might be augmented. This remark is not meant to detract from our appreciation of a fine example of close and careful scholarship. J. S. P.

Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου, Α'. Λεύκωμα.
(Προγμωσιαίαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν,
Τόμος Γ'.—Φιλολογικῆ-Ἱστορικῆ Σειρά).
By G. A. SOTERIOU. Pp. xiv + 57;
162 plates, 46 figs. Athens, 1935. 1,300 dr.

In August and September 1931 at the invitation of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus Soteriou visited the island to report on its Byzantine antiquities, with a view to their proper conservation and the establishment of a Byzantine Museum in Nicosia. Out of his report the present work has grown. It aims at including all important Orthodox monuments prior to the nineteenth century, and in scope it covers architectural remains, painting, carving, and the minor arts. This first volume contains a short introduction, architectural drawings in 46 line-block figures and 162 photographic

plates in half-tone; the text, with supplementary illustrations, will follow.

The plates are interleaved and the title is printed on the fly-leaf opposite the illustration in each case, a system which admits of long titles with cross-references and which leaves the illustrations free from distracting print. Had the somewhat obtrusive head- and foot-titles also been relegated to the fly-leaves, the appearance of the plates would have been further improved. The photographs themselves, with very few exceptions, are excellent and have been well reproduced. The material is arranged by subject: architecture, painting and other arts are treated independently and a somewhat tenuous system of cross-reference unites the buildings and their contents; tenuous, for in the sections on paintings there are no references to the illustrations of the buildings they decorate.

First, architecture. The Early Christian remains apart from the rock-cut sanctuaries and the Salamis basilica are not of great account. The plan of the latter should be compared with that by Jeffery which is more detailed (*Antiq. Journ.* viii, 1928, 345). The Byzantine churches are divided into three chronological groups; The Protobyzantine, extending through the Arab occupation to the ninth century; the Byzantine proper, from the re-conquest of Nicephorus Phocas to the Lusignan occupation and, thirdly, the Franko-Byzantine which follows. The three-aisled vaulted basilicas of the Karpas are classified with the Protobyzantine; they have close affinity with early buildings in Syria and Anatolia in face of which Enlart's theories of Romanesque inspiration and twelfth-century date cannot stand. In the second Byzantine group three larger types predominate: the three-domed, the five-domed and that with a large dome on squinches. The three-domed type, best represented by H. Lazaros at Larnaka, is here treated first, but was, there is reason to believe, the last to develop, and should perhaps be grouped with the Franko-Byzantine. The repetitive plan with three adjacent domes suggests the application of the bay system of Gothic architecture, while the Early Christian capitals embedded in the walls seem to mimic Gothic corbels. Structural details point in the same direction; the pointed vault is not an early feature nor, in Cyprus, is the polygonal apse. The point is of some importance, as M. Ionescu has recently claimed a Cypriot parentage for the twelfth-century three-domed churches of Apulia. The five-domed churches, on the other hand, are free from western influence; the type is peculiar to Cyprus, and probably originated in the tenth century. The domes

are set on the axes, but the plan is not cruciform; indeed the symmetry of the domes is quite denied by the frankly basilican plan. The squinch-churches, of the simple form, are closer to the Chios examples than to those of the Greek mainland, and, like the former, evidently derive from the school of Constantinople. The squinch-churches published are irregularly set out; their prototype is probably to be found in the monastic church of H. Chrysostomos, demolished in 1900, whose carefully disposed plan (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1915-1916, 115) is not included. The example of the Lusignan monuments modified the Byzantine tradition without essentially changing it, and the later orthodox churches, with few exceptions, derive in plan from Byzantine rather than Gothic sources.

The line-block plans and sections of the churches are together, and precede the photographic views, a division which makes for the better appearance of the book, if not for convenience. Several plans are wanting. In the case of the rudimentary types this is no loss, but it is to be hoped that the second volume will include plans of H. Theodoros, Sotera and H. Photios in the Karpas, as both are in an advanced state of ruin. In several of the plans, notably in that of Chrysaliniotissa at Nicosia, the work of different periods has not been clearly distinguished, and the series as a whole would have been improved had a uniform scale of reduction been adopted. The following errors in points of detail should be noticed. Fig. 10, the west dome has eight windows, not four; its four ribs have been omitted. Fig. 13, the apse window had three lights. Fig. 23, the north window of the dome, has been omitted. Fig. 36, the dome has eight windows, not four.

The paintings follow: mosaics, wall-paintings and icons. Of the three fragmentary mosaics in Cyprus two are illustrated, that of the Panagias Kyras being omitted. There is a considerable number of new wall-paintings, some well preserved. Those of the pre-Lusignan period are technically comparable to the work of the best schools, and pre-suppose a close connection between Cyprus and the Aegean in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. After the frescoes of Asinou (1106 and 1333), of which there are some new details, the Enkleistron complex offers the most interesting series. Those in the tomb-chamber, probably of 1183, recall the illuminations of the Constantinople school, while the less sophisticated series in the adjacent chapel derives iconographically from Anatolia, and is perhaps later in date. Of particular interest is the Epitaphios in the ruined chapel at

Koutsovente, in view of its close stylistic affinity with the Nereia paintings. Those of 1280 in the Moutoulla church suggest that under the Lusignans the monumental style tended to give place to the popular monastic cycles of the Cappadocian tradition. S. claims that contact with the West resulted in the early formation in Cyprus of a Franco-Byzantine school (p. 8), but he publishes few paintings with Western features which can be dated with certainty before the Venetian occupation. He finds in St. George of the Greeks at Famagusta a typical example of Western influence and dates the church in the fourteenth century, following Enlart in preference to Jeffery. Yet the Entombment he illustrates belongs iconographically to the East, and while the Deposition above it is fairly close to Lorenzetti's treatment of the same subject at Assisi, it derives from the tradition of his masters rather than his pupils. Indeed, the Cypriot painters were, it seems, even more zealous than the builders in guarding their Byzantine traditions. Thirty icons—a tithe only of those that are worthy of inclusion—serve to illustrate the wealth of material which is available for study. Some, such as the early pair from Emba, require cleaning, and in the process new inscriptions may well be revealed. The interesting group of icons with portraits of their donors is represented by five pieces, which may be compared with those cleaned and published by Professor Talbot Rice. For purposes of study the value of this section would have been increased had the dimensions of each icon been given.

The sculpture is less impressive. There are several Early Christian pieces, both local and imported, and others of later date. But technically the workmanship is seldom of a high order, and the repertory of motifs offers nothing new. Under the Lusignans the local stone carvers were profoundly influenced by the work of imported craftsmen, and the ornament of the later churches is far removed from the Byzantine tradition. Yet in the valleys of the Troodos range a style of wood-carving which owes nothing to the West seems to have survived; of the five doors which S. publishes, one from Asinou is of pure Byzantine style, and is possibly contemporary with the erection of the church in 1105-6. On pl. 98 the fragment on the left is not of the Frankish period, but part of a sixth-century 'basket' capital. The fragment on the right of pl. 92 appears upside down.

Church furniture and the Minor Arts are not neglected; a set of sixth-century gold ear-rings in the Cyprus Museum and characteristic specimens of Cypriot glazed pottery are illustrated,

and the volume ends with two plates of inscriptions reproduced in facsimile. A map is provided, and three indices, topographical, iconographical and of church dedications, complete the apparatus of reference.

To the *errata* add: Title-page and half-title have been reversed. Pl. 12β, for ἐπιστοφὸν read νεανίου. Pl. 21, titles reversed. Pl. 29β, for Καντάρα read Μπουραβίτσα. Pl. 38, titles reversed. Pl. 39, for Δωκ Λύκασι read Σέκκασι. Pl. 52β, for 1475 read 1511, for μιν. 100-102 read μιν. 111β. Pl. 125α, inscription quoted is not on the icon illustrated, but on one of the Anastasis in the same church. Pl. 129β, for χριστοσταύρου read Ἐλεμωός. Pl. 135β, upside-down.

S. has assembled in this first volume a wealth of material, for the most part unknown outside Cyprus, which no student of Byzantine art can afford to ignore. The second volume, containing the text and supplementary illustrations, will be eagerly awaited.

H. MEGAW.

Byzantine Painting at Trebizond. By G. MILLET and D. TALBOT RICE. Pp. 182, 57 plates; 10 cuts in the text. London: Allen and Unwin, 1936. 50s.

A series of 'Publications on Near Eastern Art' which the Courtauld Institute has started by the publication of this volume, is an enterprise welcome to every student of East Christian Art. What makes such a student's work so difficult is the lack of adequate publication of some of the most important groups of monuments. Any future synopsis will depend on monographs dealing with single groups and containing full descriptions and reproductions in addition to an exhaustive study of iconography and style.

The frescoes in the churches of Trebizond have hitherto been largely inaccessible, although many of the scenes of iconographical interest have been dealt with in Millet's *Iconographie de l'Évangile*. They are less numerous and more fragmentary than the Cappadocian wall decorations published by Jerphanion, but next to these they represent the most important school of fresco-painting in Asia Minor outside the Constantinopolitan zone. Covering chiefly the period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, they succeed the Cappadocian group in point of time. Along with Jerphanion's albums, the new publication should therefore form a basis for the study of painting in Eastern Asia Minor during the Mid- and Late-Byzantine periods.

The photographs and notes have been collected during two expeditions, one undertaken

by Professor Millet in 1893 the other by Professor Talbot Rice in 1929. As, however, the frescoes are in a rather poor condition, only the clearly visible parts could be reproduced in photographs. It is a pity that the authors have not added drawings in order to give a more complete and coherent idea of what decoration has survived in the individual churches. Most of the photographs show disconnected portions, and it is difficult for the reader to reconstruct from the plates the arrangement of the pictures. Nor can he get an idea of the relation between the single stucco layers in one and the same room, a question which is so important for the establishment of a chronology of the frescoes. As of many scenes only a portion is clearly visible on the photographs, any adequate idea of the iconographical types is also dependent on their being supplemented by drawings.

The text, most of which consists of very careful and detailed descriptions of the paintings, partly makes up for these deficiencies. Every scene and every figure is described, and comments on details of colour scheme and pictorial technique are included. Yet it is not quite easy to find one's way through the descriptions. Although part of Rice's work was but a repetition of Millet's studies, the two authors have published their notes separately, so that almost all the frescoes described by the French student are dealt with again in the English text. There are no cross references, and the discovery of the corresponding descriptions in the French and the English text is sometimes a matter of considerable difficulty, especially as the procedure of the two writers in describing an ensemble of paintings is different. The reader will find much unnecessary repetition, although there is not always perfect agreement between the two descriptions. The same object (Pl. XXIV), which Professor Millet calls 'l'agneau sur la patène' (p. 67), is described on p. 121 as 'the dead Christ in miniature lying on a white cloth.' P. 84: 'Nicodème n'assiste pas à la scène'; p. 104: 'A fifth, probably Nicodemus, fills the space below the foot of the bier'; etc., etc. There may be disagreement between two spectators, but this should be stated, and not silently passed over. Only in one case has a divergency been pointed out by the authors. The object on Pl. VI, 1 which is described as an ornamental 'rideau' by Professor Millet, is regarded as an altar by the English writer. The photograph seems to show the decorative curtain so common as a cover of the lower zones of Byzantine church walls (cf. e.g. G. Millet, *L'Art Byzantin chez les Slaves*, I. opp. p. 97).

In some respects, therefore, plates and text

fall short of what one would call a final edition of the monuments. The reason why the two authors have published their notes separately is stated by Professor Millet. They could not come to an agreement as to the date of the frescoes of the Theoskepastos, the most important narrative cycle in Trebizond. The French student who saw the frescoes in a fairly good state would like to attribute them to the fourteenth century on stylistic grounds. Professor Talbot Rice regards them as eighteenth-century work on account of their technique. He has discovered an earlier layer underneath, a fact whose importance for the dating of the frescoes now visible is readily admitted by Professor Millet. According to the English writer the earlier layer may be of the fourteenth century (although he seems originally to have placed it into the sixteenth, cf. p. 21), and he tries to explain the resemblance of the paintings of the upper layer to fourteenth-century work by the fact that the artist of the later period followed the traces of the first layer very closely.

It is not the province of a reviewer who has not seen the originals to be an arbitrator between the two authorities. As far as can be judged from the photographs, there is certainly much more resemblance to the vivid and picturesque renaissance style of the fourteenth century than to the flat and rigid eighteenth-century frescoes at Soumela, a church situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Trebizond. The contrast with Soumela (also stated by Millet, p. 21) is particularly important in view of Rice's own theory of a general 're-orientalisation' of painting at Trebizond after the fifteenth century (p. 174). This makes it difficult to imagine that at the period of the Soumela frescoes work so pronouncedly renaissance in character should have been achieved even if the painter confined himself to the copying of earlier models.

The fact that the date of the principal monument of fresco-painting at Trebizond could not be fixed has somewhat hampered the attempt to link the various decorations up with each other on an evolutionary line. On the other hand, more thorough stylistic comparisons between the numerous and partly dated frescoes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at Trebizond (a work which can hardly be carried out with the help of photographs only) might have led to a more detailed idea of the stylistic development during this period, and thereby helped to settle the question of the Theoskepastos frescoes, however unique they may be in their pictorial qualities. In his concluding remarks Professor Millet shows how these frescoes could be linked up with the dated work at S. Savas and S. Sophia

(1411 and 1443). He proposes to regard the Theoskepastos frescoes as the oldest of this group clearly reflecting the fourteenth-century renaissance of Constantinople; the style and iconography of the early fifteenth-century paintings could then be explained as adapting this intrusive element to local tradition.

Professor Rice's final chapters are more generally concerned with the question of local Oriental and Byzantine elements in the frescoes of Trebizond. He also comes to the conclusion (mainly through a very detailed study of the iconographical types) that, apart from certain local and oriental features, the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century paintings derive to a large extent from Byzantine sources and that, at all events, they cannot be explained as direct followers of the old Cappadocian tradition. From this the writer infers that the intercourse with Constantinople across the sea was more lively than that with the Cappadocian and Armenian hinterland (p. 174), a fact which is of general significance for the history of Christian art in the coastal towns of Asia Minor. (Cf. the similar relation of Byzantine local and Armenian elements in the tenth-century school of book illumination which Dr. Weitzmann has recently localized in Trebizond: *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9 und 10 Jahrhunderts*, p. 59 ff.)

After the fall of Constantinople oriental characteristics begin to predominate, and some of the later frescoes Professor Rice is inclined to regard as a link between the art of Inner Asia Minor and that of Russia and the Balkan countries.

E. K.

Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae. Vol. I, *Listes Conciliaires*. Établies par E. GERLAND, revues et complétées par V. LAURENT; Part II. Kadi Keui; Socii Assumptionistae Chalcidenses, 1936.

The first part of this work, great in conception and monumental in execution, was reviewed in this *Journal*, 53, p. 155, where the romance of its production was described. Since then Dr. E. Gerland has died, and it falls to Father V. Laurent to complete the work. Gerland wrote to me in 1934 that he had sent his complete MS so far as he could execute the work to Constantinople; I was awaiting a letter from him, when I heard of his death. A sketch of his life and work, with a bibliography, is prefixed to this second part.

It will be permitted to assume that those who are interested in this great undertaking will

remember that in the Berlin *Akademie* Harnack opposed aiding this work on the ground of its cost. If Harnack had lived to see this part, his opposition would have been intensified. No expense has been spared. The amount of loving care that has been lavished is extraordinary. It will be a long time before the principal work, the complete edition of the *Notitiae Episcopatum* appears; I have been waiting for many years for a proper edition of the *Notitiae*, meanwhile making use of the inadequate edition of XV *Notitiae* by Parthey, and of occasional publication of other *Notitiae* by Gelzer, de Boor, Conybeare, etc.; but a far more complete edition is needed. Meantime the edition of the lists of Bishops present at the Councils, of which this part II of Vol. I is the second part, is an indispensable preliminary, as an aid to fixing the several dates. I have spent hundreds of hours tabulating the lists in the editions of Harduin, Mansi, etc., and can bear witness to the completeness and excellence of this new edition. It contains only the lists of two Councils; the first is the trial of Gabadius (or Bagadius or Badagius: all forms appear in MSS), Metropolitan of Bostra, who was deposed by two of his few Bishops, Kyrillos and Palladios, and appealed to the Pope as his nominated successor Agapius did also. The Pope remitted the case to Theophilus Patriarch of Alexandria, and the trial took place in Constantinople where Nectarius the Patriarch was the President by courtesy, while Theophilus did the work. The result is unknown, as the *Acta* have perished except for some fragments; but Father V. Laurent considers that Agapius remained Metropolitan; but it was resolved that in future a certain proportion of the Bishops of the province must be present at such a meeting; but otherwise no penalty was inflicted on Cyrillus and Palladius. Twenty-seven Bishops were present at the Council, but we know only twenty; of Asia Minor only Caesarea, Nyssa, Iconium, Ancyra, Claudiopolis. The results for my purpose are meagre; but Anatolian topography is not the only purpose for which the *Acta Conciliorum* are studied. Cilia I and II are classed under Syria (Patr. of Antioch); so also Isauria (which is not here mentioned).

The only other Council in Part II is that of Ephesus in 431. The earlier Councils are ignored, because the order of *ἐκκλησία* was not established (according to Part I) until the reign of Theodosius (379-395); but we may hope that the lists of the Councils in 325 and 381 may appear in the *Echos d'Orient*.

The lists of the Council of Ephesus comprise 291 Bishops; and the same loving care is spent on them. I cannot in this brief notice even allude to

the many points of interests that present themselves.

The *Notitiae* are a sort of index to topographic history. Their value has been depreciated by many; and it is well to add an example. Correspondence took place (102-14 A.D.) between Trajan and a procurator (?) at Pessinus; one fragment was found at Pessinus by me and another by Sterrett on the same day at Sivri Hissar (Spania Justinianopolis) in 1883. The stones of Sivri Hissar were largely fetched (as the natives say) from Pessinus, 12 M.P. distant, 18 km. Our discovery was an example. Pessinus was not a strong fortress, and was destroyed by the Arabs along with Orkistos, probably in 714-7. Sivri Hissar, an ideal fort in the Arab wars (station, as I conjecture, of Cohors VI. Hispanorum under the Romans) was named Spania, renamed Justinianopolis, and is still the governing centre, seat of a Pasha Mutensarif. *Notitia Basilii*, earlier than 838, probably about 720-30, says that the metropolis was Παιονούπολις ἢτοι Ἰουστίνιανούπολις, 'formerly Pessinus, now Justinianopolis.'

W. M. R.

Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος. By CHRYSANTHOS, Metropolitan of Trebizond. Pp. 905. Athens, 1936.

Relation d'un Voyage en Orient par Julien Bordier, écuyer de Jean Gontaut, Baron de Salignac, Ambassadeur à Constantinople (1604-1612); Livre v. Edited by CHRYSANTHOS, Metropolitan of Trebizond. Pp. 72. Athens, 1934.

The exiled Metropolitan of Trebizond, who represents the Œcumenical Patriarch at Athens, has employed his leisure in compiling from the Archives of the Patriarchate the Manuscript at Vatopedi of 1346, that of the Trapezuntine 'common chest,' founded in 1826, and all the printed matter on the subject, except the recently published article in *Speculum* by Vasiliev on *The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond*, a big history not only of the Church, but of the cultural life of Trebizond from its first mention by Xenophon down to the extinction of its Church by the exchange of populations in 1923 after the Asia Minor disaster. Beginning with a geographical and topographical survey of the province, he touches briefly on the history of Trebizond before, during, and after the Empire, describes the legendary foundation of its Church by St. Andrew, whose traditional cave is the site of the Cathedral, and the real foundation by Gregory the Miracle-worker. Of Eugenios, its patron-saint, of the two Xiphilins (the Patriarch and the epitomiser of Dion Cassius), and of

Bessarion, Trebizond's greatest son, he has biographies, and has compiled a list of bishops from 325 to 680 and of Metropolitans from 787 to his own election in 1913. He gives a graphic account of the final catastrophe of his ancient Church, which he strove to avert by his advocacy of the Pontic cause. He mentions the school of astronomy and mathematics, of which Chionides and Loukites were professors, under the Empire, and sums up the Trapezuntine Church as 'the Akropolis of Orthodoxy.' A large section is devoted to a description of the Christian monuments, notably the Metropolitan church of the Golden-headed Virgin, that of St. Eugenios and the monastery of Soumela (for which he is much indebted to the studies of Mr. Talbot Rice). Even after the fall of this last Greek Empire, Trebizond, as he shews, continued to be an important factor of Hellenism; thus, two families, one of which played a great part in the beginning of the struggle for Greek independence, and both of which left a name in the history of Phanariote Roumania, those of Hypselantes and Mourouzi, came from Trebizond. The book contains 120 illustrations and facsimiles, statistical tables of the population, churches and schools of the province according to the census of 1913-14 and five maps and plans, including one of the city and forts, one of the city and suburbs, and two of the diocese, largely based on Lynch and Kiepert. There are two full bibliographies, but Finlay is quoted in the German translation of the old edition. The volume shews laborious research, all the more creditable because the author is not only a learned scholar, but one of the most brilliant diplomatists of the Orthodox Church, which he has served alike in Albania, Athens, and London. Meanwhile, like Cagliastro, he has been warned to 'beware of the city of Trebizond,' which seemed so romantic to Milton and Marlowe.

One of his sources is the description of Trebizond and the surrounding country in 1609 by Bordier, of which he has edited for the first time the relevant chapters of the fifth book from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The historical part of Bordier's narrative is brief and inaccurate, but there are an interesting contemporary plan of the city and useful allusions to various churches, some of which, however, the editor has been unable to identify. Bordier found that no Catholics had dwelt there since the Turkish conquest and that the form of the city had much changed since then. It now contains, so the Metropolitan informs us, only a few Greek families.

W. M.

Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia. II: Tinos.

By GEORGIO HOFMANN. Pp. 208. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1935.

Continuing his study of the Catholic sees in Greece,¹ the author traces the history of that of Tinos from its first mention in 553 to 1930, when, together with Mykonos, combined with Tenos since 1400, it was united with the Archbishopric of Naxos. Having been Venetian from 1390 to 1715, Tenos naturally contained numerous Catholics, but this volume deals with only the last century of Venetian rule, the four years (1770-4) of the Russian occupation and the two Turkish periods (1715-70 and 1775-1821). In Tenos, where there was no Orthodox bishop during the Venetian rule, most Teniotes were Catholics in the seventeenth century; but mixed marriages and emigration to Smyrna diminished the Catholic community, which to-day numbers 4,039 with fourteen priests and seventy nuns. The present head of the Catholic Church at Athens is a Teniote, two members of whose family, the Filippuzzi, are mentioned in documents of 1648 and 1756. Mykonos, on the contrary, which ceased to be Venetian in 1537, had only twenty Catholics in 1667, only five and one priest in 1782. The treatise describes also the civil and military situation, shews that the Russians respected the Catholic Church, which the Albanian soldiers sacked, and praises Turkish toleration. An appendix contains 23 Papal and Venetian documents, ranging from 1613 to 1818, mostly accounts of apostolic visits. There are 16 illustrations and an up-to-date bibliography.

W. M.

The Conquest of Constantinople.

Translated from the Old French of ROBERT OF CLARI by EDGAR HOLMES MCNEAL. (*Records of Civilization*, No. xxiii.) Pp. 150. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1936. 14s.

The aim of the series of 'Records of Civilization' (to which this volume belongs) is to make accessible to English readers texts aiding an understanding of the past, and to bring within the reach of the non-specialist the fruits of modern scholarship. We are very glad that this translation of Robert of Clari's account of the Fourth Crusade has been included in the series. It is interesting in itself and historically valuable in its contrast to the less ingenious story of the Marshal Villehardouin. Robert of Clari was a

¹ *JHS*, liv. 236.

simple knight, and took part in the expedition as a vassal of Pierre of Amiens. He had no reason to conceal the fact that the restoration of Alexius was seized upon as an excuse for diverting the crusade to Constantinople.

The text of the Chronicle, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, was not printed till 1868, and then only in a few copies, by Count Riant. The latest and best text is that of Lauer, published in 1924.

The present edition (apart from the regrettable absence of the French text) gives all that any reasonable student could demand. The Introduction deals fully with what is known about the author and the manuscript, and judiciously estimates the value of the account as a historical source. The style of translation is well adapted to the simplicity of the original. The volume, which includes a good bibliography and index, should be indispensable to all students of this important 'Crusade.'

The Klephtic Ballads in relation to Greek History (1715-1821). By JOHN W. BAGGALLY. Pp. xiv + 109. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Baggally has done a real service in bringing the Klephtic ballads into some kind of historical order, and in examining the question of their value as sources for this period of Greek history. His conclusion (and it seems a right one) is of rather a negative character. The ballads, in so far as they have historical value, provide confirmatory rather than original evidence. The reason is that the ballads were composed by persons of very limited outlook, who were interested chiefly in particular incidents in the career of their heroes, and not in any wider historical tendencies. They are, however, valuable in giving us an insight into the character and conditions of life of the Klephts. They reveal their ardent love of personal freedom, their courage and enterprise in guerilla warfare, their endurance of pain, their adhesion to the Orthodox faith—an adhesion not incompatible with rough treatment of monks—and a fairly high standard of chivalry. On the other hand, there was little cohesion between the various captains, and they were almost as ready to plunder Greeks as they were Turks. We can well understand the difficulty of reducing these irregular bands to any form of military discipline during the War of Independence. The jealousy existing between Roumeliote and Moreote is illustrated by the disputes still raging over the claims of Zacharias to be regarded as a true Armatolos.

Mr. Baggally gives a useful bibliography, has

an interesting chapter on the character of the Armatoli and Klephts, sets out in translation selected ballads associated with the more prominent captains, and tries, as far as evidence is available, to put them into a historical framework. He concludes with a chapter in which klephtic activity is reviewed in the light of European attitude towards Greece. The absence of the Greek texts of the ballads is to be regretted, but the difficulties which stand in the way of their inclusion can be understood.

F. H. M.

Griechentum und Goethezeit: Geschichte eines Glaubens. By WALTHER REHM. (*Das Erbe der Alten, Zweite Reihe, XXVI.*) Pp. xii + 436; 6 plates. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936. 13.50 m.

An interesting and thorough study of the influence of ancient Greek art and literature upon Germany from Winckelmann to Holderlin. Some may find the author's style a little difficult and tending overmuch to the metaphysical, but this is in accordance with the attitude of most of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German enthusiasts for Greece. It is perhaps significant that the two most idealistic champions of ancient Greece—Winckelmann and Goethe—never visited Greece proper. Winckelmann discovered the merits of Greek art through Rome, and Goethe was led by his admiration for Winckelmann to the work which made him the interpreter of the Greek spirit for Germany. The other chief exponents of ancient Greek culture in that country, while full of enthusiasm for what was best in Greek art and literature, saw that the German 'must feel the Greeks,' but remain German. Such was the attitude of Herder; of Schiller, who sought to adapt the Greek manner to modern tragedy in his *Braut von Messina*; of Humboldt, who, with F. A. Wolf, pointed the way to the scientific study of classical antiquity; and of Schlegel, the champion of a general view of Greek antiquity and the emphasiser of its dark side. In the case of Holderlin, the religious factor became prominent, and, starting from the farther East, he aimed through Christianity at a holy marriage between Greek and German.

The author confines himself almost exclusively to the influence of ancient Greece upon Germany. But might he not have spared a little space for that ardent lover of Modern Greece, Wilhelm Müller, a pupil of F. A. Wolf, whose noble 'Griechenlieder' are penetrated with the spirit of liberty and illustrate another aspect of Greek influence upon Germany?

Ἡ ἑπτανησιακὴ δημοσία οἰκονομία κατὰ τὴν περίοδον 1797-1814. By ANDREAS M. ANDREADES. Pp. 63. Corfu, 1936. 25 dr.

This posthumous treatise of the eminent economist forms the continuation of his similar work on the Venetian period, and naturally falls into three divisions: the first French occupation (1797-9); the Septinsular Republic (1799-1807); and the second French occupation (1807-14). The chapter on the first period, based on General Chabot's unpublished papers, shews the wretched state of Ionian finance, in vain remedied by forced loans, which the sturdy Cephalonians, as usual, vigorously opposed and which made the Ionians rejoice at the departure of the French Republicans, whose soldiers were in rags. The situation became better during the second period, when public education was provided by a tax on monasteries, though at first the

Turkish tribute and the expense of the Russian army caused a capitation-tax. When Napoleon, who called Corfu 'the key of the Adriatic,' initiated the second French occupation, his first representative, Berthier, made the Ionians regret Venice and was recalled, whereas his successor, Donzelot, became 'the father of the Ionian people.' But the Napoleonic war against England ruined the Zantiote currant-trade and the Cephalonian mercantile marine, and the stamp-tax of 1808, the law imposing which is given in an appendix, was so unpopular that the first act of the British, on taking Zante, was to repeal it. As under the British protectorate, so under the French governors, Corfu was less hostile than the Southern islands to foreign rule. This is not the least, though the last, service of Andreades to his birthplace.

W. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

A prize of £50 is offered for an essay in English on some archaeological or ethnographical (not mainly linguistic or literary) subject connected with Prehistoric or Pharaonic Egypt.

The essay should shew original research. The words 'archaeological' and 'ethnographical' are to be interpreted in the widest sense. The subject may be selected by the candidate himself, and the essay should be illustrated by as much comparative matter as possible from other lands, whether ancient or modern. The utmost use should be made of photographs and drawings.

The prize will be awarded only if the work is of sufficiently high standard to warrant it.

Mr. K. de B. Codrington, Dr. Margaret A. Murray, and Mr. G. A. Wainwright have kindly consented to act as adjudicators.

The candidates may be of either sex and of any age. The essays should bear their title, and should be accompanied by a covering letter. Only the covering letter, *not the essay*, should be signed. Essays must be typed, and must be sent in before Dec. 31, 1937, to Mr. J. H. Hay, Solicitor, 29 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1, who will give each essay a number and forward it to the adjudicators. Other correspondence should be addressed to Mr. G. A. Wainwright, 26 Elm Park Gardens, London, S.W.10.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

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MAPS, VIEWS, EXCAVATIONS, ETC.

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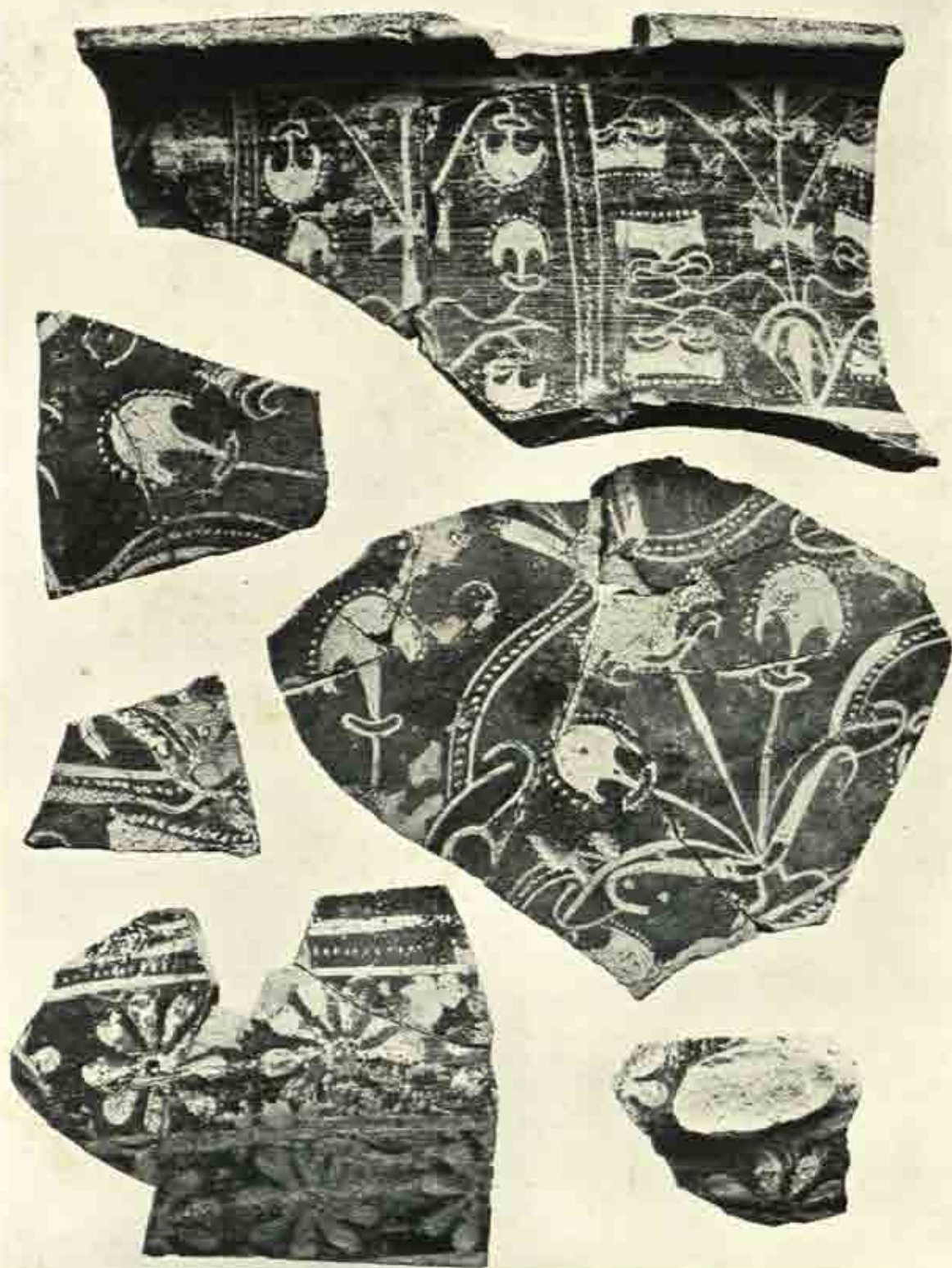
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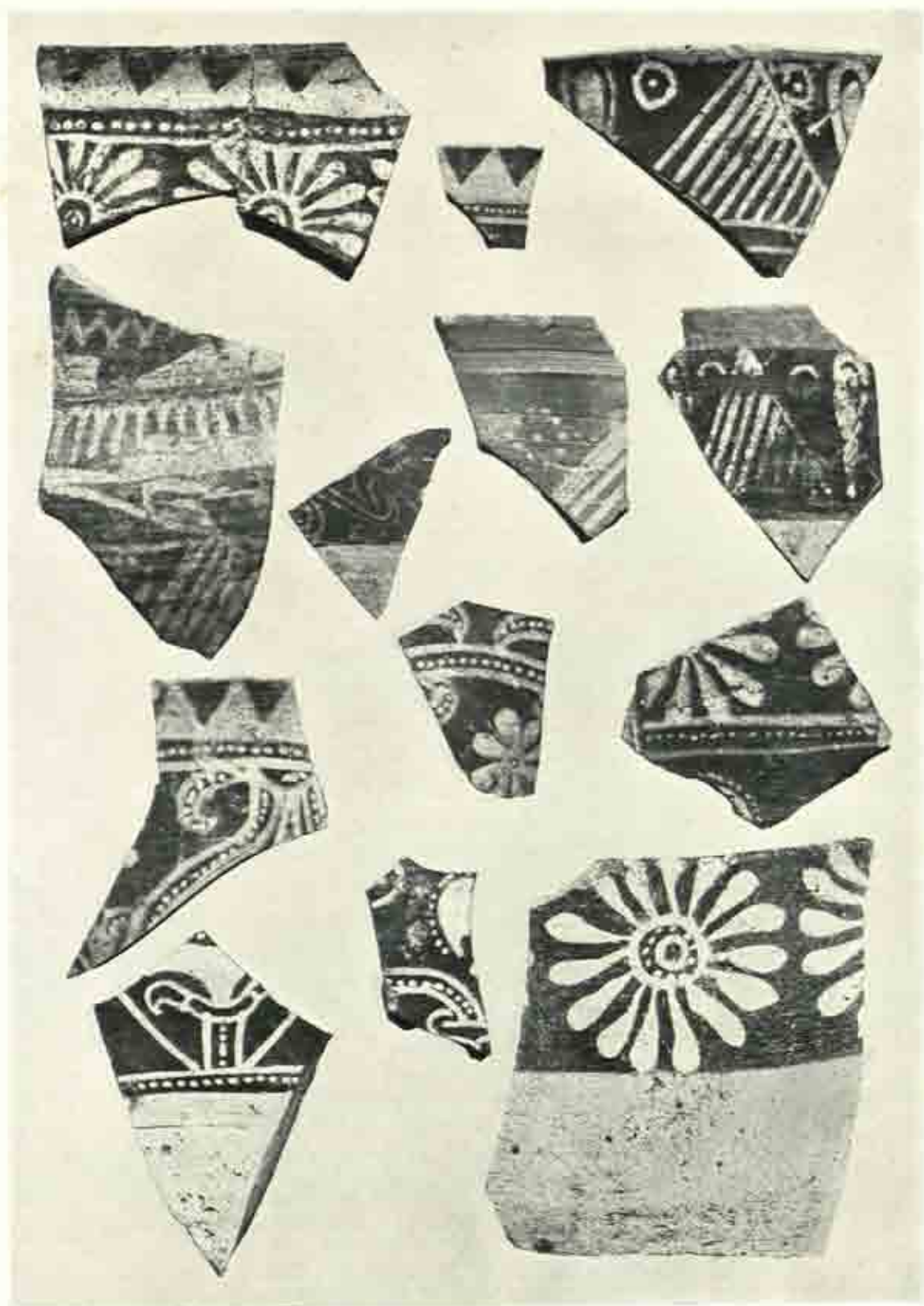
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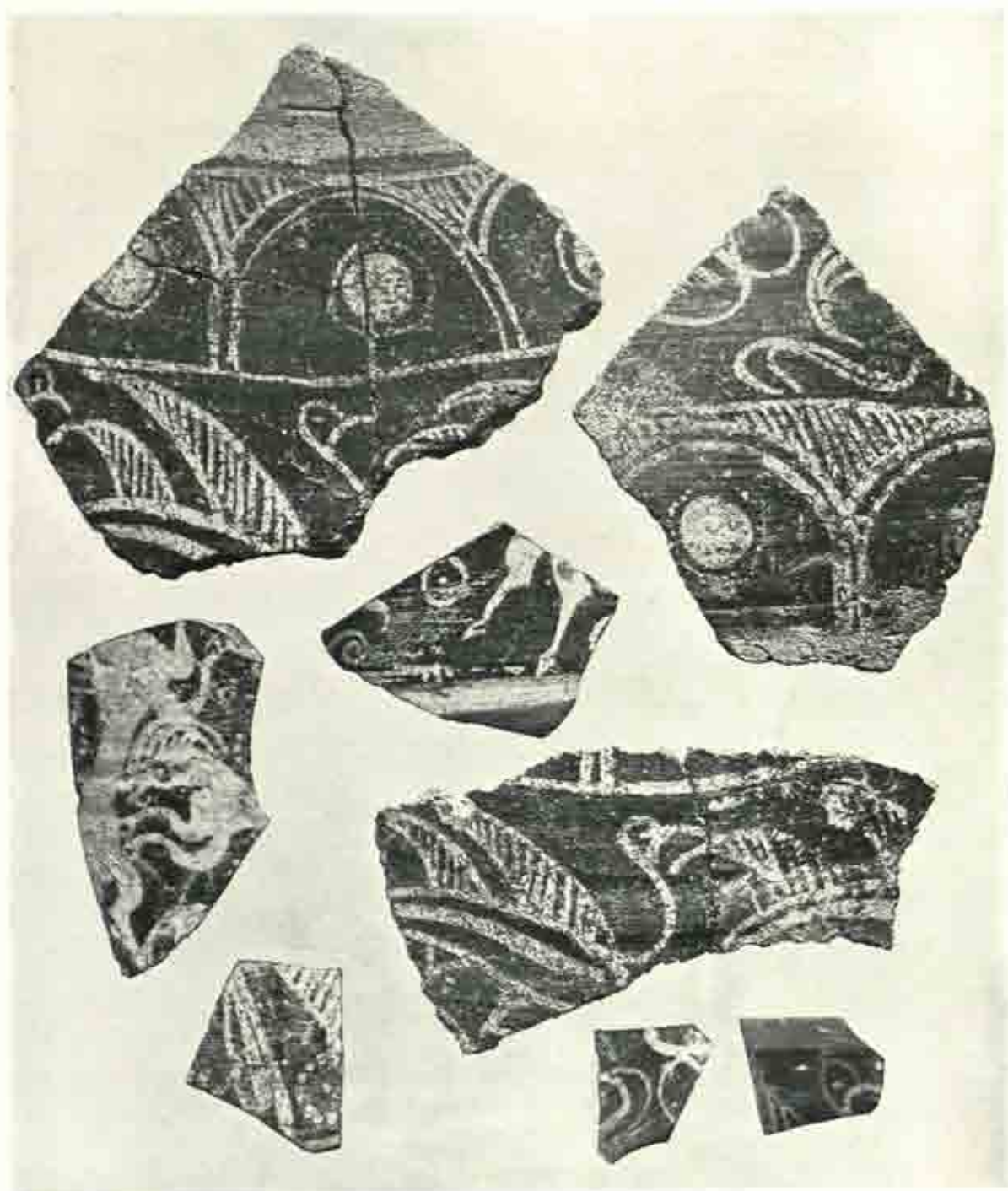
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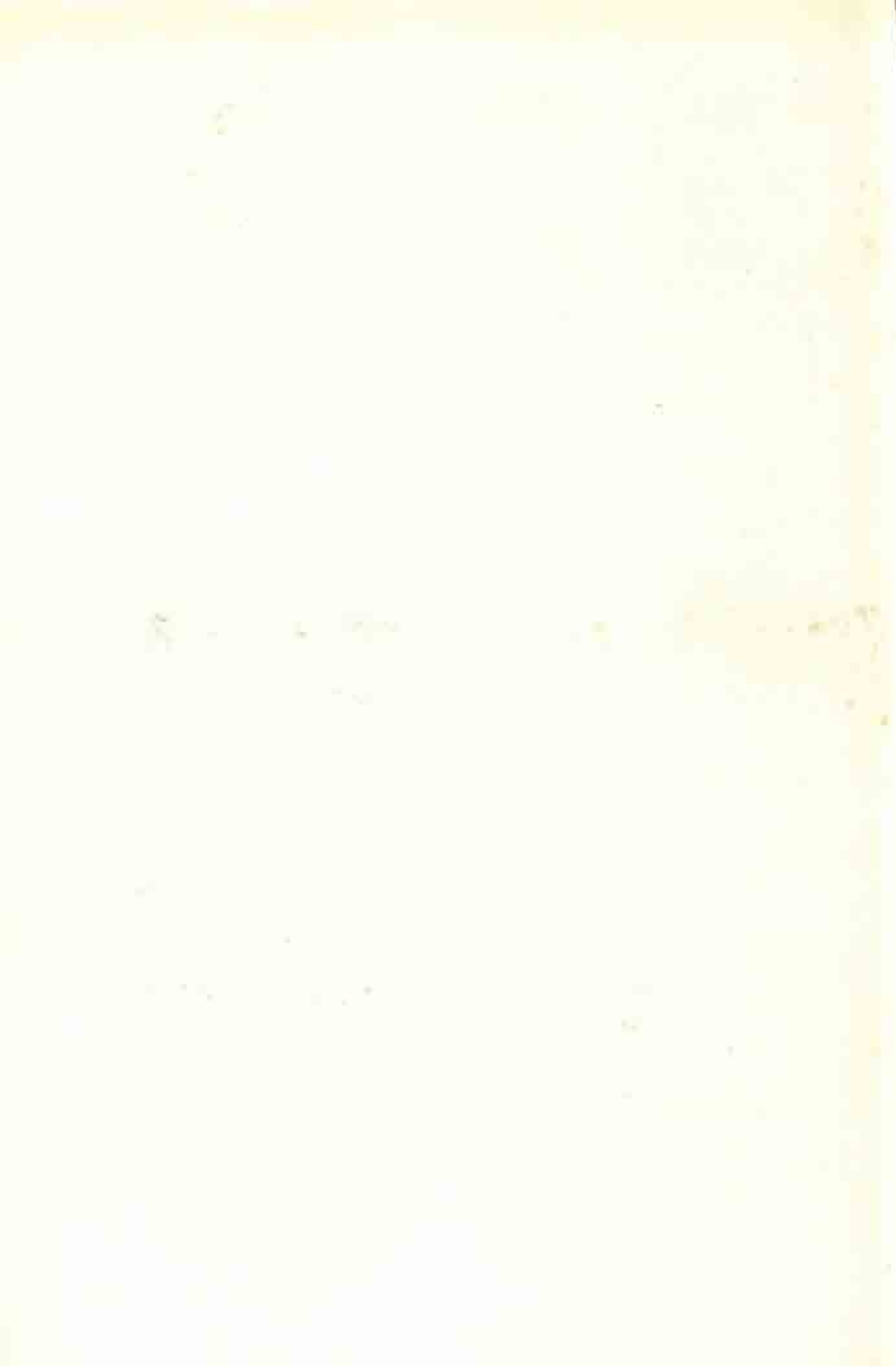
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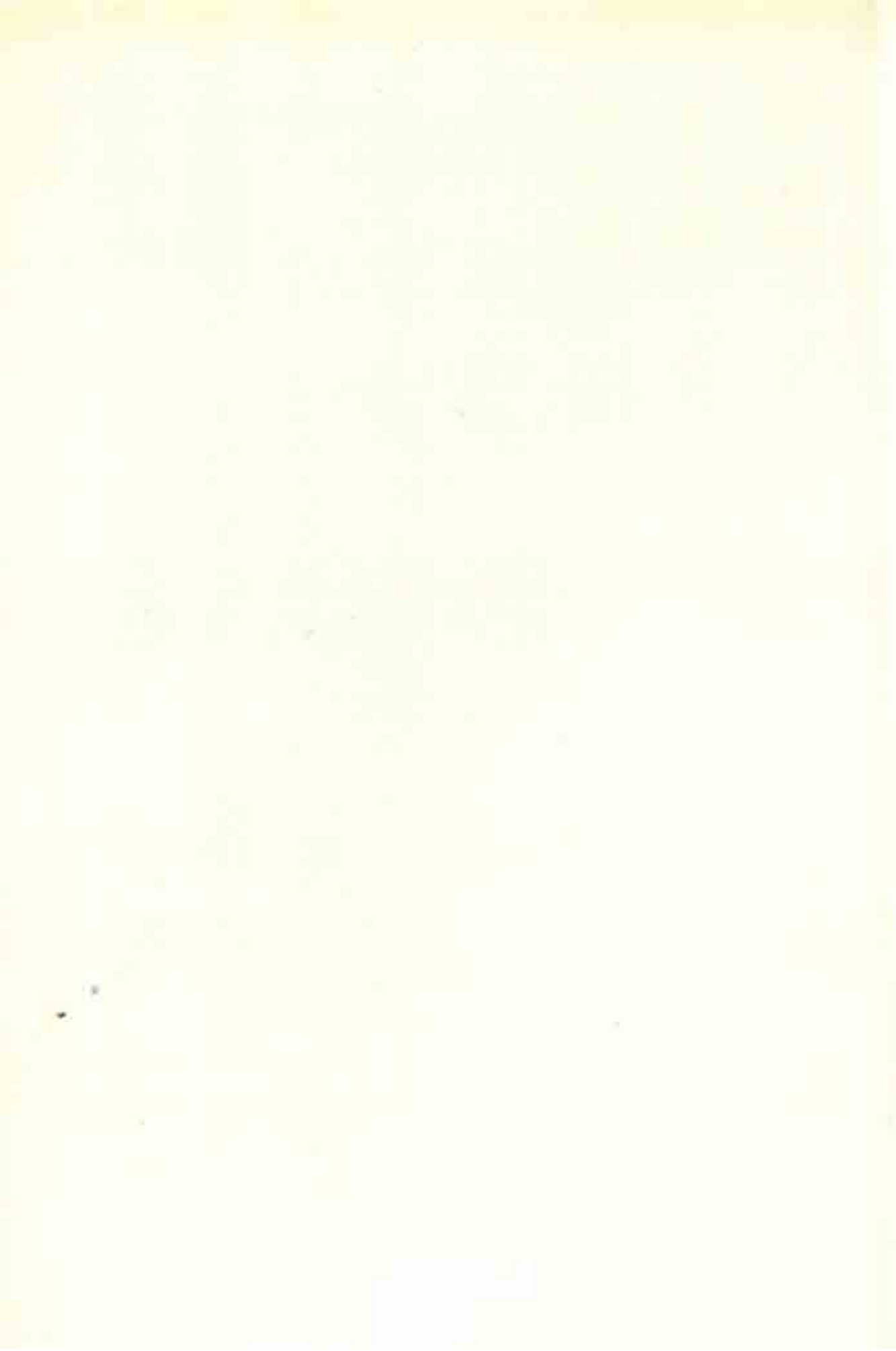
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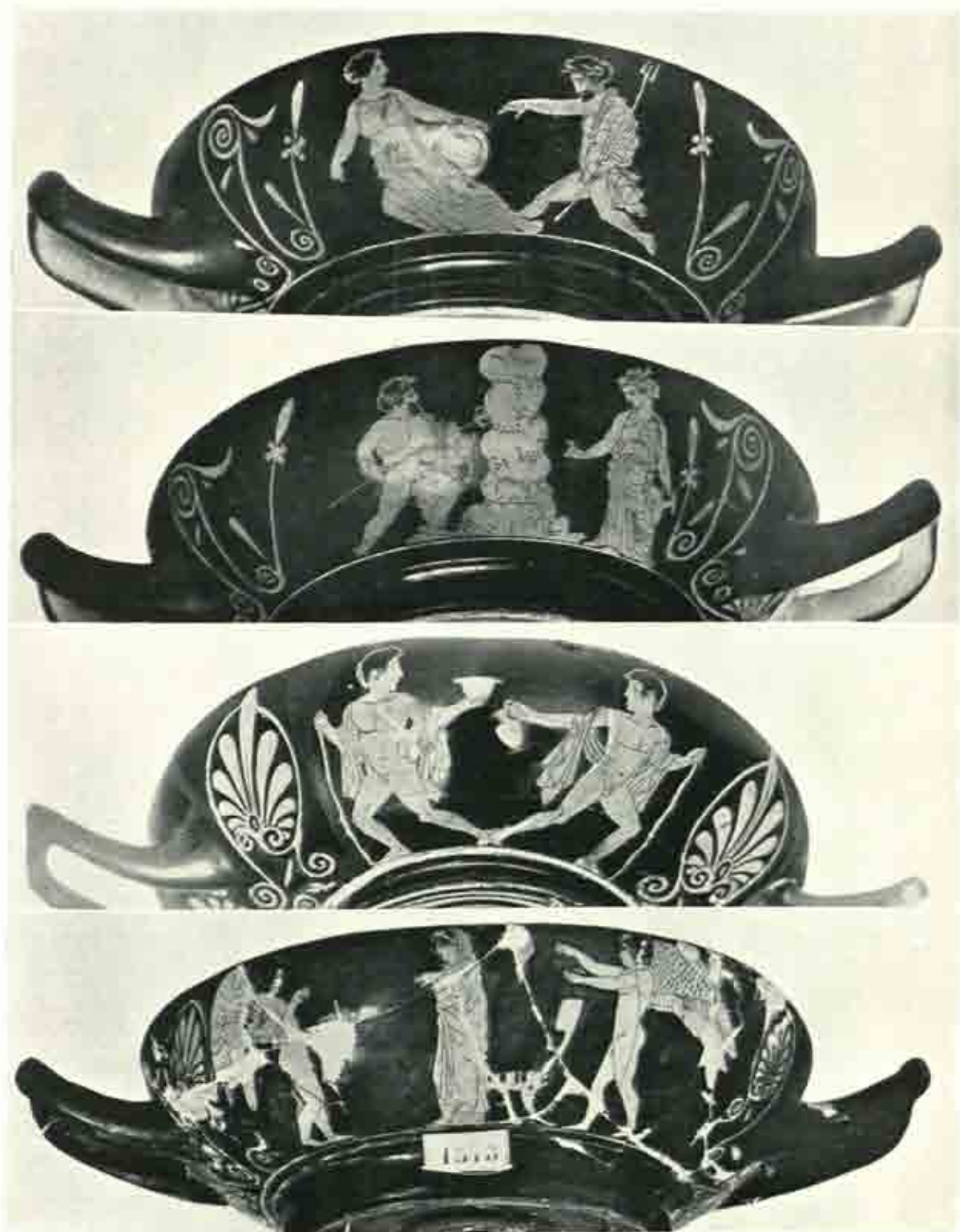
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